



Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-088
Tuesday
7 May 1991

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7 May 1991

NOTICE TO READERS: On 6 May 1991, the DAILY REPORT will begin phasing in new radio and television sourcelines that reflect how a station identifies itself. This change eliminates the "Domestic Service" and "Television Service" designations in favor of the station identification as broadcast. The presence of a new sourceline reflects this change in policy, rather than the establishment of a new station or network.

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Soviet Position at Security Conference Viewed

AU0605145891 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA
in Slovak 30 Apr 91 p 5

[Ivan Horsky commentary: "There Is No Single Recipe: What Did the Conference on the Future of European Security Bring?"]

[Excerpts] The two-day conference on "The Future of European Security" held in Prague at the end of last week was the first forum of this caliber, at least from the viewpoint of the participating politicians and experts, held since the signing of the Paris Charter of Europe [in November 1990]. [passage omitted]

A speech that received special attention was that of Soviet Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Yuliy Kvitsinskiy, who formulated in an unusually sharply worded statement Moscow's position on the present considerations concerning the future model of Europe's security arrangements. He made it unambiguously clear that Moscow has no intention of giving up its "legitimate security interests," especially regarding its former satellites in Europe. This has provoked rather strong resentment on the part of our representatives and was also reflected in the bilateral Dienstbier-Kvitsinskiy talks.

Moscow has not given up its idea that, after the elimination of the Warsaw Pact, other alliances of a military and political nature should be dissolved as well. It favors an all-European solution, although it realizes the complexity of this process. At the same time, as Kvitsinskiy said, his government does not rule out bilateral and regional approaches as "small boats" of one "large European ship" being prepared. In this connection Romanian Foreign Minister Nastase proposed the formation of some kind of council of Central and eastern European countries that should consult on, and coordinate their role in the process of creating a security concept for Europe.

Austrian Chancellor F. Vranitzky presented in Prague a kind of compromise proposal, which, like the Czechoslovak approach, prefers a combination of all existing structures and substructures because, in view of the existing military-political parameters, this seems to represent the most feasible path toward the realization of the vision of a new Europe. [passage omitted]

Leaders Discuss Pact, NATO Prospects

LD0604173391

[Editorial Report] Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian at 1900 GMT on 5 April carries a 13-minute "Panorama" program featuring a discussion on the security of Europe after the dismantlement of the Warsaw Pact's military body, which is presented by Gyorgy Kalmar, with Viktor Kulikov, marshal of the Soviet Union; Aleksandr Bovin, IZVESTIYA political

observer; Lajos Fur, Hungarian defense minister; and Manfred Woerner, NATO secretary general.

After introduction and a contemporary newsreel clip on formation of Warsaw Pact and its dissolution, there is a roundup of comments.

Kulikov says: "No, I do not feel sorry for the disbanding. In my view, it was an intentional, pre-planned political decision, and it should not be portrayed at all as if the Pact would have fallen apart by itself. It is the result of a natural process. In the end, we took a step for which we have endeavored for many, many years."

Bovin says: "The Pact was based on an ideology, and when we removed this ideology, the whole thing fell apart."

Fur says "Two military alliances faced each other, but now nobody faces anyone. This period too belongs to the past; at least, I hope very much that this will be the case."

Woerner says that NATO never considered Hungary an enemy, and that NATO had no need for an enemy.

An unidentified reporter then asks: "Even if speaking in the abstract, still, will there be Hungarian soldiers in the same barracks with NATO soldiers?"

Fur replies: "I think that it cannot occur these days and will not come to pass. Naturally, meeting each other in other areas can take place and will take place. However, in the sense that, after joining NATO, Hungarian and NATO country soldiers would meet at joint military exercises, in shared barracks is, I think, inconceivable at this moment."

Woerner explains that NATO does not want to extend its membership to East Europeans, wants no shared border with the USSR and no change of military balance at the expense of Moscow, but a security arrangement based on EC, NATO, and CSCE processes. Then an unidentified reporter asks: "What organization can guarantee the security of these countries? NATO is the only security organization in Europe at the moment."

Fur says: "It is the only military body, indeed, military force which has created an alliance system, but these threats of conflicts here, which by now are no longer purely threats but almost palpable, tangible features of the region cannot, in my view, deteriorate to such an extent as to become conflicts between states. I hope that they remain conflicts within countries, whether I have in mind the tensions stemming from the increase of poverty or ethnic conflicts. I believe that these are capable of handling, insofar as these affect inter-state issues such as Romanian-Hungarian relations; these can be handled on the political sphere and do not, under any circumstances, deteriorate to the extent that they would compel the use of military means for solution." The discussion concludes in generalities about the need for cooperation between West and East.

People's Assembly Discusses Shkoder Events

AU0505141591 Tirana ATA in English 0757 GMT 5 May 91

[Text] Tirana, May 5 (ATA)—In the sitting of the People's Assembly that opened on May 4, at 10.00 hrs, contributions were made on the material submitted on May 3 by the Special Parliamentary Commission that has pursued the flow of inquiries on the April 1-2, 1991 events in Shkoder.

Before the resumption of the discussions Deputy Namik Dokle suggested that on May 5, the Martyrs' Day, parliamentary groups pay homage to the martyrs' graves and pay visits to their families, in some cities of the country.

Replying to questions addressed to this commission on the presented material, the chairman of the Special Parliamentary Commission, deputy Ajli Alushani, said among others that, there are about 60 questions, which cannot get an answer if the inquiries are not completed.

The inquiries on the events in Shkoder, he said further on, is the major problem of the specialized organs which should be calm in order to conduct their activity. With its work this group with authority and not made up of specialists [as received], rendered a positive contribution and did its best in this respect.

Upon his own request, the floor was given to the chairman of the General Investigation Office, Qemal Lame, who briefed on the so far work and assured the Assembly that the group charged with the investigation of the matter is fully engaged to carry the inquiries to the end.

Then contributions began. About 20 deputies took the floor in the morning sittings. Speaking of the Shkoder events, all of them has a common worry: The competent organs carry the question to the end and reveal the truth. In their contributions, some deputies could not avoid the party positions while judging upon the circumstances that led to the painful events of Shkoder on April 2. Many others in their contributions said that these stands do not contribute to unity, tranquillity, and security, but on the contrary, the division of the people, insecurity, and destabilization of the country, the more so, they said, we are discussing at a moment when inquiries are not over. It is indispensable, said some deputies, that for such great questions as the one under discussion, to have common views, although we are opposite parties, and leave aside allusions or charges for the parties, because whoever might be the persons responsible for the events of Shkoder, they do in no way represent the political parties they may adhere to. The deputies demanded that the forces of order, the citizens, anybody, should observe law at any moment.

At the end of the proceedings of May 4, the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, after consultations with the presidencies of the parliamentary groups, informed the deputies that since the tomorrow day is the Martyrs' Day and groups of parliamentarians will go to

honor their memory in the districts, the proceedings of the Assembly will resume on May 6, at 10.00 hrs.

Assembly Votes To Dismiss Some Ministers

AU0705084991 Tirana ATA in English 0755 GMT 7 May 91

[Text] Tirana, May 7 (ATA)—On May 6, at 10.00 hrs [0800 GMT], the People's Assembly continued its proceedings with contributions about the material submitted by the special parliamentary commission for observing the inquiries on the events in Shkoder between April 1-2, 1991.

Responding to the question by some deputies to get acquainted with the materials of the inquiry group the chairman of the special parliamentary commission the deputy Ajli Alushani said that this does not serve the question as long as the inquiries have not yet ended.

Then the contributions began. The floor was taken by about 40 deputies. Just as in other days, the common thing was serious commitment of the People's Assembly to influence in accelerating the inquiries and in carrying them through.

The speakers in the assembly pointed out that in the crimes of Shkoder are involved external forces who do not like the democratization and the political stability in Albania, but we should not deny that there are internal forces, whose interests run contrary to democratic developments.

Many deputies demanded that the new government to be created must prepare soon the law on the depoliticization of the state organs, the whole apparatus of the Ministry of the Interior should be restructured and reformed, dividing the forces of the police and of order from the state security forces, the units of rapid interference should have a rather clear legal status, etc.

In the afternoon sitting, which opened at 17.30 hrs, since there were no contributions, the floor was taken by the deputy Fatos Nano, chairman of the Council of Ministers, who voiced the commitment of the working government, especially in the events of Shkoder, and in general in guaranteeing the stability of the public order and tranquillity and security of the life of the citizens, which is necessary in this difficult transitory period we are passing.

Besides Fatos Nano laid the stress on the supplementary measures the new government should adopt alongside the stabilization of the very difficult economic, political and social situation on national scale giving priority to that in the city of Shkoder. There is no way out from this difficult situation, he said, without a spirit of national reconciliation prevailing.

Then, the floor was taken by the general attorney, Rrapi Mino, the chairman of the General Inquirer's Office Qemal Lame and the Minister of the Interior Gramoz Ruci who responded the numerous questions of the deputies.

In the last sitting which opened at 00.05 of May 7 the floor was taken by Kastriot Islami, chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly who said: Based on the debates of these days in the assembly, regarding the tragic event of Shkoder and the contributions in the presidency of the parliamentary commission and the presidencies of the parliamentary groups we propose :

1. The work of the parliamentary commission for the time it has been operating and the circumstances under which it worked, is considered serious in general.

The deputies approved this proposal by majority of votes.

2. The work and activity of this commission should go on till the end of inquiries and carrying the question to the high court .

This proposal too was approved by majority of ballots .

3. Rapi Mino, attorney general be discharged.

4. Qemal Lame, head of the General Inquirer's Office be discharged.

The deputies approved these proposals by majority of ballots .

6. Gramoz Ruci, minister of the Interior be discharged.

The last proposal was not adopted by the majority of votes of the deputies of the party of labour.

The assembly will continue its proceedings on Thursday at 10.00 with the point of the agenda for the creation of the government.

Inquiry Commission Asks Officials' Dismissal

*AU0405194091 Tirana ATA in English 1707 GMT
4 May 91*

["Conclusions of the Special Parliamentary Commission and Measures It Proposes To Follow the Process of Investigations of the Events in Shkoder on April 1 and 2, 1991"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, May 4 (ATA)—In continuation of the report submitted on April 25, 1991, as charged with by the parliament, answering the questions put by deputies, many working collectives and other persons far and wide the country, the special parliamentary commission forwarded some conclusions and proposals on the events in Shkoder.

Under the difficult conditions when it is unjustifiable the absence of ocular witnesses present in the events of Shkoder, [as received] the investigation groups carry on their work, which now is completed with penal prosecution of four persons. Meanwhile the weapons used in these events are under ballistic expertise.

Nevertheless, judging from the general estimation of data so far, the commission upholds that the events which occurred in Shkoder right after elections are a result of the insufficient preparation of the electorate to accept without tensions the victory or loss in the elections.

The data accumulated by the commission to investigate the events make us insist once again on the fact that the April 2 events ought to be prevented. The executive committee of the district People's Council should play the main and decisive role in this direction, it had to intervene energetically when the branch of the Interior Affairs [Ministry] asked for help that together with the political forces and other organizations to calm down the tensions of uncontrolled forces that gathered in front of the district committee of the Party of Labour and to disperse them.

The officials of the forces of order in Shkoder city should define more correctly and properly the actions they should undertake, as they expected such a situation, in order to disperse the demonstrations, according to the decree of the Presidium of the People's Assembly issued on January 5, 1991. The forces of order should resort to other means in order to disperse the demonstrators as foreseen by the decree. In this respect the lack of instructions that ought to be given for the application of this decree by the Ministry of the Interior charged the latter with responsibility.

Proceeding from this judgement there comes out the concrete responsibility for the violation of the aforesaid decree by the officials of the branch of the Home Affairs [Ministry] (chairman, chief of the police, deputy chief of the police) who are penally prosecuted .

Responsibility rests also on persons who had fired weapons, something which still is an object of further inquiries.

The officials of the General Investigation Office are responsible for neglecting the inquiries despite the difficulties they present and consequently they bear responsibility as they did not find out the culprits and truth quickly.

We propose to the People's Assembly to release Qemal Lame from the duty of the chairman of the General Investigation Office, and to shift responsibility on the officials of the General Attorney's Office which did not play the proper role in these events. The commission proposes to release Rrapo Mino from the duty of the attorney general.

We uphold that the respective organs should adopt the administrative measures to charge with responsibility the groups of Investigation and Attorney's Offices as well

as those of Shkoder District which were directly charged with inquiries in that district.

The minister of the interior, although newly appointed in this post, bears responsibility for these events as he did not give concrete instructions how to act at that moment and did not analyse the events in the collegium of the ministry.

Proceeding from this we propose to release the minister of the interior from this duty. Besides he is not a specialist.

We recommend the People's Council of Shkoder District to analyse and judge upon the matter on the responsibility of the officials of the executive committee.

We recommend the new government to adopt the necessary measures so that such events be not repeated. Likewise it should adopt urgent measures that in cooperation with all the ministries and organs of the district work out a concrete program to improve the very tense situation in the district of Shkoder.

The schools of Shkoder should regularly conduct lessons and strictly implement the rules and discipline.

We recommend the Council of Ministers to issue sublegal acts to determine those officials who have the right to have weapons.

Likewise, it should step up work for issuing the sublegal acts that have to do with the status and inviolability of the organs of order.

Kosovo Assembly Refutes Serb Reorganization

*AU0305200791 Tirana ATA in English 1724 GMT
3 May 91*

[Text] Tirana, May 3 (ATA)—In the series of the anti-constitutional, illegal, and occupation police measures of the Serb power against the Albanians of Kosovo, the law "On the Territorial Organization of Serbia," with a tendency of extending it also in Kosovo, was also proposed.

Many communal assembly, political subjects, associations, and citizens reacted severely against this law which aims at eliminating any trace of the political-administrative territorial integrity of Kosovo, as well as against all the negative consequences of this act.

Kosovo's Assembly severely reacts also against this proposal and dismisses it as unacceptable and anti-constitutional. Kosovo's Assembly makes known to all, especially to the Serb occupation power that on the basis of the Kacanik Constitution, as well as the federal one, the territory of the Republic of Kosovo is unique, inalienable, and indivisible, and the borders of the republic can be changed only upon the decision of Kosovo's Assembly and on the basis of the will of the people, whom this change has to do with.

In this regard, the Assembly will address a special document to the Federal Assembly.

Kosovo Assembly Communique on Future of Yugoslavia

*AU0305200691 Tirana ATA in English 1720 GMT
3 May 91*

[Text] Tirana, May 3 (ATA)—In the context of talks to resolve the deep political and state crisis in Yugoslavia, especially in the talks conducted among the heads of the republics or chairmen of the presidencies of the republics in the last five meetings, the Albanian element was completely ignored. Respectively, no legitimate representative of this people was invited in the talks, a communique of Kosovo's Assembly Information Bureau says. Further on it adds that although excluded from the talks the chairman of the Presidency of Kosovo states clearly and competently through other forms of action the official stands of the top power organs and especially he stated the clear-cut stand that the Albanians will not accept and will not be obliged to any eventual agreement reached without their participation.

So far the Assembly of Kosovo's Republic has clearly stated its stand about the future improvement of the relations among the current federal units and Yugoslavia. Based on the Constitution of Kosovo's Republic, Kosovo is defined as a "democratic and sovereign state equal to the other current federal units", with the present republics of Yugoslavia respectively. From this position it also demands that the representatives of Kosovo Take part in the talks to improve the future relations.

Striking Miners Win Concessions, Resume Work

*AU0405143991 Tirana ATA in English 1034 GMT
4 May 91*

[Report from the Press and Information Department at the Council of Ministers]

[Text] Tirana, May 4 (ATA)—A report of the Press and Information Department at the Council of Ministers says among other things:

As is informed, the miners of the chrome mines Bater and Kraste of the District of Mat are on strike, demanding the improvement of the working and living conditions and their treatment. The strike commission has made known the requirements of the strikers to the Presidency of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers. On May 3 the striking miners staged a rally in the town of Burrel to declare in public their demands.

The Press and Information Department at the Council of Ministers contacted with the Ministry of Industry, Mining and Energy and with the Ministry of Domestic Trade. It comes out from the information it received from them that the officials of the Ministry of Industry,

Mining and Energy, including here Minister Drini Mezhini, have talked several times with the strike commission. In these meetings the economic demands of the miners were considered just in general and they discussed the concrete ways how to solve them. The commission of the strikers had also a meeting with the director of the Workers' Supply Enterprise at the Ministry of Domestic Trade.

As a result of these meetings the number of buses at the disposal of mines increased, time limits were fixed to satisfy other demands, such as acceleration rates in the construction of the aqueduct. Efforts were made also to compensate the supply deficits of the workers' supply enterprise in Kraste, sending there scores of dozen quintals of food articles, the completion of the microsurgery hall with the necessary equipment was decided to be realised within May, etc.

As the director of the Mining Enterprise of Kraste informs, work has partially started in the first shift in some sectors of this enterprise. Representatives of the respective Ministries are contacting with other working people to put an end to the strike which has damaged the economy as a result of the non-realisation of the chrome production for export.

Social Democratic Party Forms Fier Branch

AU0605195391 Tirana ATA in English 0851 GMT
6 May 91

[Text] Tirana, May 6 (ATA)—On occasion of the creation of the branch of the Social Democratic Party of Fier District, a meeting was organized in the "Bylis" theater hall. Attending it were its members and sympathisers.

In the name of the Initiating Commission for the creation of the Social Democratic Party, members of this commission Prof. Dr. Skender Gjinushi and the writer Teodor Laco spoke. After dwelling on some of the main objectives of the program of this party, they underlined among others that it appears as a new alternative in the pluralistic panorama of Albania and aims at the complete realisation of democracy and Albania's dignified integration into Europe.

Then, they replied numerous questions put by those present about the political and economic program of this party and its difference with those of the other political parties of the country, its stand towards the past, foreign policy, and especially on the acute problems of the economic crisis our country is passing, etc.

'Myth' of Socialist Morality Exposed

AU0705074591 Tirana ZERI I RINISE in Albanian
27 Apr 91 p 2

[Vladimir Avrami article: "In Search of Lost Dignity"]

[Text] We are losing our national dignity. Some newspapers (and not they alone) are spreading this cry to arouse

public opinion. The facts cited to justify this assertion and at the same time testify to the sale of Albanian dignity include the occasional case of the prostitution of Albanian girls for foreigners. This fact begs the question of whether an Albanian's dignity has sunk so low, and most of all, the question of where the blame for this lies. Some of the aforementioned articles assert that the Albanians have been even poorer in the past than they are today, but have never done such things. The conclusion is that it is not the factor of poverty that has led us to stoop so low, but that the reason must be sought elsewhere, and where else but in the democratic processes taking place in our country, with all their logical consequences? However strange it may be, this is the conclusion that is reached. How far does it correspond to the truth?

Let us examine Albanian reality today more objectively and dispassionately. Let us be more realistic and, why not, more compassionate regarding what is happening among us. This is the best way to assess the morale of society and the "depersonalization" of the character of an Albanian.

It is true that we have lost a portion of our former pride. It is true that the character of an Albanian has lost points on the "stock exchange" of social morality, in such specific ways as the daily cases of illegal flight, the unpleasant behavior (to put it rather delicately) of our citizens on the streets of the great world, the everyday phenomenon of children begging from foreigners in front of big hotels, private and official flirtations, etc.

It is true that many events have taken place in a very short time in Albania, the like of which had not happened for years. It is difficult to give some of these events their proper name. This task is all the more difficult when one bears in mind the clashes of political passions, which make it even harder to judge the consequences for the morality of society. However, one thing is clear: These events, among other things, have destroyed the myth of so-called socialist morality.

In past years, a kind of sick "pride" or rather boastfulness was drummed into our awareness. Such slogans as "indomitable citadel of socialism" and "a lamp illuminating the whole of Europe," our successive achievements in all fields of life, the indisputable advantages of socialism (i.e. of our country) compared with capitalism (implying the "poor" countries of Western Europe), etc. fostered a false pride among us, which became second nature. All these things created the spotless halo of our socialist morality. This flawless portrait of the Albanians was presented to the world.

The events that have taken place and that still occur are nothing but the eruption of the hundreds of problems that have accumulated in our society for years on end, but which an iron fist tried to repress by force and to

conceal in a thousand and one ways. Of course, the day when they would explode was to come. Their eruption was shocking, but not unforeseen or unexpected. The pus that erupted from this wound seemed to stain the character of an Albanian. But was this really the case? Was the true face of an Albanian sullied, or only his mask, which others had imposed on him? We think that the latter corresponds more closely to the truth. By removing this mask, the Albanians have become more down-to-earth, more human, and thus nearer the truth. Albania is a [word illegible] and a nation, with all its virtues and faults, with people like all others who walk this earth. It is not Albania's fault that it has at the moment rather more worries than other civilized countries. The responsibility for this backwardness lies at the door of those very people who now exclaim that Albania has gone to the dogs now that democracy and pluralism have arrived. It is they who must answer for the country's present state. It is they who created these problems that are humiliating for our national dignity, and who are now sounding the alarm bells. However, they have no need to worry. An Albanian is quite capable of distinguishing between black and white. His ideal of joining the European mainstream must not include those vices

that Europe itself is trying to eliminate. Albanians will know how to maintain their honor and dignity, which others trampled on.

Today's problems are neither unexpected nor unfamiliar. They are present in every society, just as every society makes every effort to get rid of them. A "well-wisher" of progress might ask, "Why have they cropped up today?" The reason is, that they always existed, but the opportunity to condemn them has now been created. In his own time, the great Migjeni [Albanian writer, 1911-1938] described with incomparable realism the tragedy of an Albanian highland girl who sold her body for a few pennies. You cannot accuse Migjeni of sullyng reality or anti-Albanianism, which among other things shows that it was easier in his time to condemn these things.

It is therefore not democracy that has brought us our current problems. Democracy only created the possibility to expose and condemn these things. Among other things, it tore away the Albanian's mask and bogus halo. It is precisely democracy that will bring this country what it has so far been denied, and place it on the pedestal it deserves. The first way in which this can be achieved is by eliminating the real causes and reasons that have made this country a European backwater.

Press Comments on Arms Sales to Syria, Iran

LD0605120991 Prague CTK in English 1129 GMT
6 May 91

[Text] Prague May 6 (CTK)—In an article headlined "Is the Czechoslovak Government backing down under American pressure?", the left-wing newspaper "RUDE PRAVO" today commented on Friday's appeal by the U.S. to Czechoslovakia not to sell tanks to Syria and Iran.

"The publicly stated American pressure on Czechoslovakia in the matter of weapons exports to Iran and Syria shows that even the new diplomatic status of our country does not mean our Atlantic partners are willing to back off from the hard defence of their own interests for our sake", the paper wrote.

At the same time the U.S. issued its appeal State Department Spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler said the U.S. was well aware of the importance of the arms industry for Czechoslovakia, especially for Slovakia, and was offering to send a team of military experts to advise Czechoslovak weapons manufacturers on conversion of the industry to civilian production.

According to an article in the May 4 "LIDOVE NOVINY", Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier told the U.S. Government on his trip to the states three weeks ago that Czechoslovakia wanted to sell to Syria and Iran more than 100 T-72 tanks manufactured in the heavy machinery works (ZTS) at Martin, Central Slovakia. He stressed that the tanks were already put together and would be sold for cash, not credit.

The paper also quoted an interview given by Federal Premier Marian Calfa to Israeli radio yesterday in which Calfa said Czechoslovakia would "sell tanks to anyone". Czechoslovakia must now aim to liquidate its military production for all the countries of the former East Bloc which is no longer needed, said Calfa, but it needs foreign capital to be able to do so. "If we have the means, we will stop producing tanks". He also said he would consider it outstanding if he could convince the Israelis to invest in the economic conversion of the Czechoslovak weapons industry.

"RUDE PRAVO" also notes yesterday's television broadcast of "What Happened This Week", where Foreign Ministry Spokesman Egon Lansky said that if Czechoslovakia sells weapons to Iran and Syria it should expect hostile reactions from Jewish economic and political lobbies in the U.S.

On the same programme, Deputy Premier Pavel Rychetsky said Czechoslovakia is an independent state and will decide for itself. Syria owes Czechoslovakia 700 million dollars, said Rychetsky, so its debts would remain unchanged even if it were now to import tanks for cash.

Spokesman on Arms Export, Conversion Issues

LD0605164191 Prague CTK in English 1353 GMT
6 May 91

[Text] Prague May 6 (CTK)—Czechoslovak president's spokesman Michael Zantovsky told journalists today that in the long term Czechoslovakia wants neither to produce nor to export heavy arms.

If Czechoslovakia sells such equipment, it is to gain money to convert arms manufacturing plants to non-military production, Zantovsky said. He added that Czechoslovakia does not want to export this technology without paying regard to political realities.

At his regular briefing Zantovsky took a reserved stand on statements allegedly made by Premier Marian Calfa during his current visit to Israel, concerning exports of Czechoslovak T-72 tanks to Syria.

The independent daily LIDOVE NOVINY today quoted Calfa as saying in an interview with Israeli radio: "Tanks are goods just like any others, and in addition one of the few products that we are able to sell in the world. This is why we will sell them to anyone." Calfa is visiting Israel at the invitation of the World Jewish Congress.

Zantovsky said these "alleged statements" have not been confirmed by other sources. He thinks that Calfa may have been misinterpreted or misquoted.

Commenting on the U.S. appeal to Czechoslovakia not to export tanks to Syria and Iran, and a reported offer that the U.S. would send a team of conversion experts to Czechoslovakia, Zantovsky said no additional information on the arrival of these experts in Czechoslovakia was available. "We understand" the American interest and concern, Zantovsky said. Czechoslovakia informed the Americans about problems related to the conversion and expects understanding on the part of the U.S., he added.

Zantovsky said that no decision has been made on the export of Czechoslovak arms to Iran.

Giving details of President Havel's schedule this week Zantovsky said he will visit Germany on Wednesday and Thursday to receive the Charlemagne prize in Aachen and give a speech about Europe. Tomorrow, he will participate in a reception at the Soviet Embassy on the occasion of May 9, liberation day in Czechoslovakia.

U.S. Protest of Arms Sales Answered

LD0605190491 Prague Federal 1 Television
Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] Shortly after 1800 Egon Lansky, spokesman of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, issued a statement through the Czechoslovak press agency. We are going to acquaint you with parts of it:

Martin Palous, CSFR deputy minister of foreign affairs, today received Mrs. Shirley Temple Black, the U.S.

ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary. She handed to him a diplomatic note from the U.S. Government to the CSFR Government that protests against the planned sale of weapons by Czechoslovakia to Syria and allegedly also to Iran. The ambassador stressed at the same time that the U.S. Government is well aware of the Czechoslovak problems linked to the conversion of the military industry and that she appreciates the stance taken by President Havel and his government, who decided to revise the arms policy of the former regime.

This is why U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense Atwood will head a group of experts visiting Czechoslovakia in the summer to discuss specific possibilities to help in the conversion of the Czechoslovak armament industry. The United States, however, has a clear policy and laws banning the sale of weapons to the countries supporting international terrorism. The U.S. Government briefed the governments of the countries in question, as well as the governments of the allied and friendly countries about this. By expecting Czechoslovakia to heed its request to withdraw from the sale [of weapons] to Syria and Iran, the United States expects no more nor less from Czechoslovakia than from other countries.

Deputy Foreign Minister Palous ensured the ambassador that he would pass the U.S. stance onto the minister of foreign affairs and the Czechoslovak Government, which would assess the American arguments very carefully.

The Czechoslovak side went on to point out that it is neither interested in exporting weapons, nor is this a change of the policy outlined by the president and the government. Nevertheless, in crisis situations it is necessary to thoroughly assess the consequences and impact of various decisions. The CSFR Government intends to apply a moral point of view regarding the questions of the production and sale of weapons in the future. Nevertheless, the fact is that the decision to sell T-72 tanks to Syria was made necessary by the specific situation in the areas affected by the conversion; the situation was not brought about by the present Czechoslovak Government; it is the legacy of the previous regime.

The U.S. offer of help is welcome, but to have any impact at all, it must take place immediately.

Czechoslovakia does not wish to support international terrorism, and the weapons in question are of no use to terrorists.

The representatives of the CSFR and the United States assured each other that they would continue a dialogue about these questions.

Havel, Dienstbier on Exporting Tanks to Syria

AU0705102091

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 30 April on page 1 carries a 300-word "jas"-signed report on President Havel's 29 April briefing at Prague

Castle. The report includes President Havel's reply to a LIDOVE NOVINY question concerning the Czechoslovak intention to sell tanks to Syria. The issue of Czechoslovak tank exports to Syria is also raised in a 500-word interview with CSFR Minister of Foreign Affairs Jiri Dienstbier in Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak on 2 May on page 3. The interview was conducted during Dienstbier's tour of Slovak arms factories on 30 April. The name of the interviewer is not given.

The LIDOVE NOVINY report on President Havel's 29 April briefing includes the following passage: "Asked by LIDOVE NOVINY about Czechoslovakia's current position on arms exports and, in particular, on the export of tanks to Syria, V. Havel replied that we have never declared a strict ban on arms exports; on the other hand, we support a radical conversion of the armaments industry. 'If tanks have already been manufactured or are nearing completion, and if a country is found that is willing to buy what has been produced, after careful political consultations and without political risks, there is no reason not to conclude such a deal in the hope that this will be the last deal of this kind,' the president stressed. He added that everything that this transaction yields must be invested in conversion."

In the interview with Bratislava VEREJNOST, Dienstbier reiterates his arguments for his conviction that the production of heavy weaponry in Czechoslovakia "has no prospects" and should be discontinued. The interview includes the following exchange:

"[VEREJNOST] Could you say something specific about the deal with Syria?"

"[Dienstbier] There exists some kind of an agreement about the possibility of supplying some additional weapons to Syria. This depends, on the one hand, on the contract, and on the other hand, on the progress of negotiations on a settlement of the Middle East situation.

"[VEREJNOST] Minister, some people say that in the same way as Moscow used to control our trade with military goods in the past, we are now in for something similar from the Pentagon.

"[Dienstbier] We are definitely not in for anything similar. Naturally, the Americans express their positions and views on trade with weapons. Everyone does it, including us. It goes without saying, however, that what a greater power says carries a different weight. The issue at present is that, following the signing of the treaty on conventional disarmament in Europe, there is a great effort to conclude a similar treaty in the Middle East. Everything depends on when such a treaty is signed. It could take one year or five years before it is signed. Entrepreneurs must reckon with that."

Havel on Slovakia, Country's Role in Europe

AU0505184591 Vienna ORF Television Network
in German 0900 GMT 5 May 91

[Interview with CSFR President Vaclav Havel by Paul Lendvai in Prague; date not given; Havel statements in Czech with superimposed German translation—recorded]

[Text] [Lendvai] Mr. President Havel, you are known as one of the most successful present-day statesmen and politicians. The successes scored by the CSFR during your term of office in the past 16 months are generally known. I would like to mention the visits by President Bush, President Mitterrand, the establishment of the secretariat of the CSCE states, the creation of a Central European University, and the upcoming big European conference with President Mitterrand. In spite of that, you are suddenly facing big problems in one part of your country—in Slovakia. For us, your direct neighbor Austria, the recent scenes were very impressive and at times even caused uneasy feelings. When you were awarded the peace prize of the German bookselling industry, your friend Gluecksmann, the French philosopher, stated that those who abandon communism return to history. Will the specters of history now return to Slovakia? Are you primarily a president of Bohemia and Moravia and not so much of Slovakia?

[Havel] Let me say the following: First of all, the problem lies much deeper. It has historical and social roots. The Slovak people never had the chance in their history to develop an identity of their own in a state and on a legal basis. The freedom that would permit this has been recently created. Our task is to create a constitutional basis in our state that will give the Slovak people the degree of identity they desire. I understand the different moods that express this desire for identity, the desire for independent decisions, and the desire not to be ruled by another people. As far as the scenes in the Slovak National Uprising Square in Bratislava are concerned, these events must be condemned.

[Lendvai] You are referring to 14 March this year.

[Havel] This was no expression of a people's justified desire for independence. There were slogans, anti-Semitic slogans. Such phenomena must be condemned and investigated. This attitude is not shared by the majority of the Slovak public, but only by small, noisy groups.

[Lendvai] May I ask you a personal question in this connection? I have read a great deal of what you have written and what has been written about you. In this situation in Bratislava, what was your reaction as a human being, as a poet, as somebody who was imprisoned for years because of his struggle for this country and for freedom? Where you outraged, or were you sad? What was your reaction?

[Havel] I was by no means outraged, not even about the fact that I was personally attacked. I was sorry, and I was sad that such fascist and anti-Semitic phenomena exist. The most important reason for my presence at the rally—I could have left earlier, but I stayed for quite a long time—was curiosity. I tried to understand what kind of people the demonstrators were, what their motives were, and what they actually wanted. I had the impression that the majority of them were young people. I also had the impression that they did not know what they were chanting. They were the victims of a mass psychosis. They reminded me of young soccer fans who take part in street battles—frustrated and unstable people, fanaticized people who are trying to cling to slogans and catchwords. I was sorry that such things exist in our country. However, this is no Slovak specialty. Hints of such phenomena can occasionally be observed in Bohemia as well.

[Lendvai] Certainly. However, is there not a basic national tendency in Slovakia that you, Mr. President, and everybody else underestimated?

[Havel] The desire for independence, for national independence, is very strong in Slovakia. The political impact of various political forces and, in turn, the influence of these political groups on the public is a reflection of this desire. These forces, however, are more diverse. One cannot make general statements here.

[Lendvai] Let me ask you a specific question. We know that Slovak Prime Minister Meciar was practically forced by his own party to resign. As I read, you described this as a victory for democracy and a fateful moment in Slovakia's history. According to most recent opinion polls, 80 or 90 percent of Slovaks support this man, whose position was not undisputed. Does this show that this political victory might really be counterproductive, that it might backfire?

[Havel] I believe that it was a test for parliamentary democracy. Legitimate and democratically elected bodies were not guided by the temporary popularity of a person, but they based their decision on a sensible analysis of the situation, and they acted in accordance with their own consciences. This is their duty. They also took the risk that their view would be contrary to that of the majority of the voters that they represent. However, this in itself was the test for democracy. In my view, the bodies passed this test. I do not think that it is the task of politicians or parliamentarians to read the results of opinion polls every day in the papers and to act on this basis. It is important for them to rely on their sense of reason. They have been elected to make sensible decisions. Most of the voters believe in reason. If people do not like a politician's views, they can vote for somebody else in the next elections.

[Lendvai] Let me ask you a few more questions about Slovakia. Mr. President, do you see a chance today for continuity, for the continued existence of the federative state, of the federation with one army, with one Foreign

Ministry, with one currency. Are the chances worse or better at this point than in the past? Will Czechoslovakia survive the year 2000 as a uniform federative state? The new prime minister, Carnogursky, and other officials with whom I have spoken have certain ambitions as well.

[Havel] I should say that none of the major political forces in Slovakia has included the division of our state in its program. They all advocate the federation. All acknowledge that foreign policy, currency, and defense are federative tasks. There are controversies in all other spheres. Controversies will continue to persist. They will certainly be dramatic. I am convinced, however, that the situation will finally calm down and that we will shape our state in a way that is acceptable for the two peoples.

[Lendvai] Thus, Czechoslovakia will survive this difficult period after its self-liberation.

[Havel] I believe it will overcome this phase. I will try to do everything to ensure this. At the same time, I believe that Czechoslovakia must overcome this period. Certain faults have accumulated over the past decades, not only in the communist sphere. We are facing certain leftovers for which we have to pay. We must completely settle all unresolved questions.

[Lendvai] I would like to tell our viewers that two-thirds of the 15.6 million inhabitants of Czechoslovakia live in Bohemia and Moravia, and one-third in Slovakia. A total of about 30 percent are Slovaks. There are also about 4 percent Hungarians, there are Poles, Germans, and Ukrainians. I would like to ask you a delicate question in this connection. If one looks at the history of Central Europe, one can see that the smaller peoples were not always willing to grant to even smaller peoples what they demanded from the larger ones. This was the case in the monarchy, when the Hungarians demanded something from Vienna that they did not want to grant to the Croats, and so on. Today we see that Slovakia is going through a phase of national renewal. For example, it wants autonomy and more rights. The Slovaks, who were for centuries suppressed by the Hungarians and later by the Czechs, have problems with the Hungarian minority in Slovakia. This minority has addressed you as well in connection with educational and constitutional matters. Do you want to leave everything that happens in Slovakia with the Hungarians, the Poles, and gypsies to the local authorities, or do you want to ensure the protection of the minorities there in your capacity as president?

[Havel] I believe that the conditions for all citizens—citizens from all ethnic groups—must be equal in the whole state. The same laws, principles, and the same policy in the sphere of human rights must prevail everywhere. The federative principle must be applied here. The citizens' basic rights and freedoms are stipulated in the list of freedoms adopted recently by the legislature. The whole state and its basic principles are involved here. Practical policy—the application of the principles—lies within the competence of the individual

regions, of the individual republics, or the local administrations. However, the same principles must prevail everywhere in the state. This is understandable.

You mentioned the suppression of smaller groups by larger ones. I would like to stress one thing: As long as the Slovak people want to live in an independent state, nobody—neither I nor the Czechs—can deny them this right. About 15 percent of the Slovaks want independence. I have often suggested and proposed the holding of a referendum as a constitutional instrument. Such a referendum would investigate the democratic form and the actual will of the people. So far, this law has not been adopted.

[Lendvai] Are you suggesting a referendum on whether the Slovaks would like to live within the framework of the Czechoslovak federation, or whether they would like to be completely independent? Will this referendum take place?

[Havel] I believe that this referendum will not come about. It will not be necessary to hold this referendum. I, however, believe that the law on the referendum should be adopted. This law should make possible the settlement of fundamental issues like the integrity of the state, its constitution, and similar questions. Such a situation has not occurred yet. If it should become necessary to explore the wishes of the Slovak people, however, the possibility of holding a referendum should exist.

[Lendvai] What about the economic background? The economic background, the deterioration of the economic situation, played a certain role in the recent nationalistic outbreak, and it also has an impact on criminality. Numerous statistics have been compiled. The head of your central bank stated in Vienna recently that the national product will decline by 10 percent, that an inflation rate of about 30 percent is expected this year. This means that Finance Minister Klaus, whom I know very well, does not advocate a soft but a tough capitalism. In this connection, the question of the balance between progress in the direction of the market economy and the price that has to be paid in the social sphere arises. I would like to mention unemployment.

[Havel] The current government has adopted a programmatic declaration that was accepted by the legislature. A scenario for the economic reform was drafted, which was also confirmed by the legislature. Individual laws in which the reform measures are stipulated will also be confirmed by the freely elected legislature. This means that these reforms of our society will not be forced on the people by a group of people, but are an expression of free will. The government has never hidden from the public that enormous sacrifices must be made in connection with the economic reforms. It has often explained the reasons. We lived many years at the expense of the future. We exploited the future. Our industry was not modernized because everything was consumed by the state budget. The budget was used to pay for the expenditure that conveyed the feeling of social protection.

However, this was no real protection. Thus, we have become a backward country, in industry and agriculture. Things must be changed as quickly as possible.

[Lendvai] How fast?

[Havel] Prosperity cannot be achieved overnight. The whole process consists of several phases, steps, and operations. Generally, I believe the faster we carry out the reform, the better. I am against half-hearted reforms. Real reforms cannot be completed overnight. The process of privatization will last several years. Everything is owned by the state here. It will not be easy to privatize state-owned property. Also, it will not be easy to create a new tax system. The basic economic laws that make privatization possible have already been adopted. Privatization will be initiated, but it will take some time. Prices will be deregulated. A great deal has happened.

[Lendvai] It is clear that you advocate shock therapy. Broad sections of the population, however—not only in Czechoslovakia—will see only the shock, not the therapy, if the process lasts too long. A question concerning the political price arises here. Can the reforms be carried out from a political viewpoint?

[Havel] I would like to modify the term shock therapy. We must first define the word shock. We must clarify the timetable of the economic reform, whether we will carry it out in one year, and whether this will be seen as a shock. Preparations for the reform are under way. They began one year ago. The reform itself was initiated at the beginning of this year. Internal convertibility and the deregulation of prices cannot be described as shocks because they will not be introduced overnight. I am not sure whether this term is correct. It is clear, however, that everything must be done to keep the sacrifices within an acceptable limit to prevent unnecessary social hardships that might result in political instability.

[Lendvai] Let me ask you two questions in this connection. First, you yourself said once in a speech that you underestimated developments or did not expect such a rapid deterioration of the situation. There was the Gulf crisis, the Gulf war, and the complete collapse of the Soviet market. A total of 60 percent of your foreign trade used to be carried out with the so-called socialist states.

[Havel] Yes, that is right. The reforms are taking place against the backdrop of difficult external conditions, which are worse than originally assumed. We are not only confronted with the collapse of the Soviet market but with the collapse of the whole CEMA market, where we used to sell our products. It was an artificial market, an obligatory exchange of useless goods. The collapse came fast. German unification had an impact, as well as the Gulf war. The supplies on which we strongly depend, supplies that do not arrive—all this plays a role. It is bad luck that we have to work under such difficult conditions.

[Lendvai] What about the arms industry? The only branches of industry that were successful in communism—in Czechoslovak communism as well—were the police and the weapons industry. As far as the arms industry is concerned, I think that you are facing enormous difficulties. A total of 75,000 or 100,000 [not further identified] depend on this industry. This is also a big problem in Slovakia. There have been reports in U.S. and British papers—I just read THE OBSERVER—that you allegedly called President Bush, President Mitterrand, and John Major, asking what should happen with the tanks in Czechoslovakia. You allegedly want to sell 1,000 tanks to Syria or other countries. This is linked with certain problems. Can you elaborate on this?

[Havel] The conversion of the military industry is a big problem. This is another legacy of the old regime. Czechoslovakia practically supplied weapons to the whole Warsaw Pact. Arms were not only delivered to Warsaw Pact countries, but to other dubious regimes as well. It is not true that we earned a great deal of money in weapons deals. Many of these countries did not pay anything in the past few years. They were granted loans by the state. Thus, the state had to pay for the weapons. The weapons industry, two-thirds of which is concentrated in Slovakia, is facing the difficult task of conversion. This will not be easy. It will have an impact on the social sphere. The factories in Slovakia are located in villages where there are no other jobs. However, it is not true that I called President Bush and other statesmen and asked them how we should solve this problem. We ourselves must know what we have to do. I only asked them for support, for investments that would facilitate the conversion of the military industry, and that would help us in the sphere of technology. We will hardly be able to solve the problem without foreign support.

[Lendvai] I asked this question because of the reports I just mentioned and because in the fascinating book *Vaclav Havel: Remote Interrogation*, among other things you spoke about al-Qadhafi, stating that people in the West risk their own security and the destruction of the basic ethical principles that you advocate for a few barrels of oil. Special interests prevail over general interests. Everybody hopes not to be hit by the bomb. Does Vaclav Havel still hold this view as president?

[Havel] Yes, I still hold this view. The Gulf war showed, among other things, how many companies—particularly western German firms—helped Saddam Husayn build his weapons industry. Of course, it is better not to supply weapons to such a regime at all than to call on it later not to wage a war.

[Lendvai] Let me mention another topic. We just discussed armaments. This naturally includes nuclear power. This is a question that also affects relations with other countries, including Austria. You have big problems in the supply of energy. I think that about 30 percent of your energy is generated by nuclear power plants. You know that the threat posed by Bohunice and Temelin is very specific for the Austrians. Political

differences hardly play a role here. Opinion polls have revealed that people in Slovakia, in Czechoslovakia, are also concerned to a certain extent. How do you see this problem?

[Havel] This is a very complicated and serious question. Different views prevail in different countries. The Austrian population decided in a referendum that it does not want nuclear energy. In France, 70 percent of the energy is generated by nuclear power plants. Nuclear energy is linked with great risks. However, there are arguments proving that the risks of nuclear power plants may be smaller than those posed by coal power stations. I am not an outspoken advocate of nuclear energy.

[Lendvai] In a referendum, would you vote for or against the use of nuclear energy, or would you abstain?

[Havel] I am against holding a referendum on this issue. This is a question that experts should decide. Public opinion should not be decisive. However, let me add something. We will not be able to do without nuclear energy for a long time to come. The only way is to search for and to find safe systems. We have Soviet reactors that are to be shut down gradually or to be renovated. In Sweden there are models—I would like to see them during my upcoming visit—of completely safe small nuclear power plants. There is the possibility of building them underground. Thus, we must find a way to have maximum safety under our own conditions.

[Lendvai] However, you stick to your basic policy.

[Havel] I did not say that. What I just said applies to the foreseeable period. I do not know what will happen in the future. A basic concept for our energy industry is currently being prepared. This study will be discussed by the federative government. The documents are being studied by the government. Experts will also assess them. The result will be a long-term energy concept.

[Lendvai] You know that this topic will certainly be broached during the upcoming visit by Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky. I think he is due to travel to Prague on 27 May. He paid an unofficial visit to Prague last month. I believe early and constant information on problems and incidents plays a certain role for us.

[Havel] Yes, I discussed this issue with Chancellor Vranitzky when he was here last week. Unfortunately, I cannot see him on 27 May because I will be in Scandinavia. However, I discussed this problem with him in the past. His most important partner concerning this issue is Prime Minister Calfa. Many things have been initiated. The information systems and the expert commissions have started working. These commission are visiting our nuclear power plants, and joint expert commissions were formed to assess the possibilities of the early closure of certain nuclear reactors and of finding new energy sources.

[Lendvai] In addition to this difficult problem, there are other contacts, including cultural contacts. Our culture

and science ministers, Mr. Busek and Mr. Scholten, whom you know very well, will visit Czechoslovakia and Prague six times by the middle of the year. They will also attend various exhibitions. However, there are still considerable contrasts between the present and the past. In 1924, for example, 11 percent of Austria's exports went to Czechoslovakia. Exports stand at 1.1 percent now. Imports from Czechoslovakia accounted for one-fifth of all imports. They dropped to 1.2 percent. Do you believe that a return to close cooperation beyond rhetorics in this Central European area will again be possible?

[Havel] This is already happening. Several hundred Czechoslovak-Austrian joint ventures have already been established. Regional cooperation between several companies has been initiated. I believe, and I have the impression that a joint economic area is gradually forming. It would certainly be very useful to maintain the historical links. If I am correctly informed, many things have changed for the better. There are signs of closer financial and economic contacts. There are also contacts in tourism and the sphere of education. Many pupils attend schools in Austria. Things will develop further in the future.

[Lendvai] How do you see Czechoslovakia's role in the changing Europe? The Warsaw Pact will be dissolved de facto and de jure at the beginning of July.

[Havel] Yes, I suppose so.

[Lendvai] You were the first head of state of a formerly socialist country to visit Brussels. You even apologized for the revilement of NATO in the past decades, even if you were not the one who reviled NATO. However, the NATO states do not want to accept Czechoslovakia as an associate member or a member. How will things develop in the future? Will Czechoslovakia pursue its own policy among the NATO states and its successors, or do you see an institutionalization within an all-European framework or in Central Europe?

[Havel] First, Czechoslovakia is preparing new agreements with its neighbors, the Soviet Union, Germany, Poland, and Hungary. These agreements will include a certain security element. Second, we are developing considerable initiatives in the area of the Helsinki process. We see the possibility that a future security structure can be created on the basis of guarantees. We are trying to establish useful links with NATO. We have agreed on various types of cooperation. NATO Secretary General Woerner was here. A conference was organized by Czechoslovakia's Foreign Ministry and the NATO alliance. We want to establish closer links with the EC. A system of security guarantees will be formed within the framework of the creation of the joint union of the EC. We would like to participate in this system in the future. The new positions, the new house, and the new guarantees in Europe will develop at many levels and in many different forms.

[Lendvai] To what extent does European security and the future of our states depend on the continuation of

Gorbachev's course. Can one still speak of a Gorbachev course? Does the situation in the Soviet Union also pose a threat for Czechoslovakia?

[Havel] In my view, the Soviet Union does not directly threaten any country. There is no danger of a military aggression, like the one that took place in 1968. Civil war, chaos, instability—all this would indirectly affect both the immediate surroundings and the whole world. This is an undesired and direct danger and a threat. A great deal will depend on the way democracy develops. In my view, nobody can state at this point with what name and what alternative the development will be linked, who represents the most important guarantee. It is very difficult to assess the current situation. The political scenery is somewhat complicated and incomprehensible in the Soviet Union. Still, one thing is clear: More than the fate of individual persons is involved. It is a question of the basic direction, the values that the Soviet leadership will advocate.

[Lendvai] Do you consider irreversible the development in the smaller states, including the former GDR, which is part of Germany now, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary, no matter what happens in the Soviet Union?

[Havel] I rule out a return to some kind of communist system, to a totalitarian communist system. The current process is irreversible. The political instability of the democracies that are developing poses a certain danger. Certain populist and nationalist leaders may emerge, which might lead to certain frictions. However, a return to communism is one of the few alternatives that I consider impossible.

[Lendvai] However, do you see the danger of a return to the situation that prevailed between the wars in Europe, when small states with their internal national problems, their selfishness, and interference in the affairs of others existed, states that want to cooperate with the West but not with each other?

[Havel] This is conceivable. This danger exists to a certain extent. On the other hand, we know that these people have learned a great deal during the past decades. The experience of World War II and the experience of communism—these experiences cannot be forgotten. These experiences will probably have the effect that policies will be less short-sighted than in the period between the wars.

[Lendvai] In conclusion, I would like to ask you two very important questions. I ask you for a short reply. The first is a moral question. This is a poisoned society. You wrote many books about it. How will you deal with the problem of the security services, of the leftovers? Will Czechoslovakia have to live with them?

[Havel] Are you speaking about the danger posed by the security services?

[Lendvai] Let me specify my question. Czechoslovakia had one of the most highly developed state security systems, which ensured complete control. You often mentioned it in your books. Like in the former GDR, this issue is causing quite a stir here as well. Lists have been published. We both know that thousands of files that were allegedly or really studied are behind the Meciar case. Many people were caught in the clutches of this system. My question is: Are you in favor of a complete amnesty? Should one continue to live with these things and build a market economy, or should one find a way that allows preservation of moral principles?

[Havel] One must come to terms with this problem in moral terms. One cannot pretend these things did not exist. One cannot pretend that a period of crimes and denunciation did not exist. One must see the past. One must reappraise it in a legal, democratic, and cultural way. The citizens' freedoms and equal rights must be guaranteed. One cannot repeat the principle of collective guilt. It is not right to scandalize people in public. The reappraisal of the past is a problem in our country. I hope that we will succeed in creating a suitable legal framework and a certain political culture.

[Lendvai] Let me ask you a final personal question. I do not have time to mention all the beautiful quotes from your works. In a fantastic interview—the interviewer had 15 hours to ask you questions, and you had more time as well—you said about your future, I quote: I will have to pay for everything, but, strangely enough, I will survive everything. Finally, I will again cause unrest wherever this is necessary. I have the suspicion that somewhere deep inside I tremendously enjoy this paradoxical life. President Havel, are you still enjoying life, or did things turn out to be different after all? You once said that your whole life you saw things from below and from the outside. Now you see them from above.

[Havel] I am trying to keep a certain distance in my current position as well. I must admit that I anticipated that my life would be paradoxical, but I did not assume that it would be that paradoxical. Somewhere deep inside I enjoy such a life. Otherwise I would not lead such a life. However, the joy is hidden very deep in my soul. On the surface, problems and complications prevail.

[Lendvai] Would you still consider yourself primarily a writer, or have you become a professional politician?

[Havel] In contrast to many other professional politicians, I am prepared to go back to my old job any time.

[Lendvai] Will you go back?

[Havel] Sooner or later I will.

[Lendvai] The next presidential elections are scheduled for 1992. Have you already made a decision in your soul?

[Havel] I cannot say at this point what decision I will make. However, I am thinking about it.

[Lendvai] Thank you very much.

Prime Minister Calfa Departs for Visit to Israel

LD0405130391 Prague CTK in English 1232 GMT
4 May 91

[Text] Prague May 4 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa left here today via Paris for Israel where he will stay until May 8.

Part of the visit will be private as Calfa was invited to Israel by the World Jewish Congress (WJC) to take part in its general assembly.

The other part can be regarded as official. CTK was told today by Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Pavel Rychetsky, who added that the Israeli visit was discussed by the Czechoslovak Government in view of Czechoslovak interests. Calfa is expected to meet with Israeli President Hayim Herzog and Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir.

Czechoslovakia was among the countries which stood at the birth of the Israeli state. It co-authored the 1947 U.N. Security Council resolution on the establishment of two states—Jewish and Arab—on the territory of Palestine. It recognized Israel immediately after its independence was declared on May 14, 1948.

The idea of Jewish statehood was supported already by the founder of the Czechoslovak state in 1918 and its first president Tomas Garrigue Masaryk. During his three-month tour of the orient in 1927, he also visited Palestine. There are still streets and squares in Israel called after T.G. Masaryk.

After the short period of promising Czechoslovak-Israeli relations after World War II, the relations cooled in the 1950s, especially in consequence of the framed-up trials of members of the so-called anti-state Zionist Centre. The trials were initiated by the Czechoslovak Communist Party leadership headed by Klement Gottwald.

Contacts between Czechoslovakia and Israel were completely discontinued by the Czechoslovak side after the Arab-Israeli war in 1967. Their resumption in the political area started in 1988 at the level of political parties and non-governmental organizations. In the economic sphere a certain revival came in the mid-1980s. The annual trade turnover in the years 1985-89 amounted to 6 to 11 million USD.

Diplomatic relations were re-established in February 1990, less than three months after the velvet November 1989 revolution in Czechoslovakia.

In April 1990 Israel welcomed Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel who was the first East European head of state to visit the country. His host, Israeli President Hayim Herzog, is expected in Czechoslovakia next October. He will take part in a commemorative ceremony at which tribute will be paid to the Jews from Czechoslovakia who died in Nazi concentration camps.

The ceremony will take place on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the beginning of the Jews' deportations to the concentration camps.

Jicinsky Condemns Calls To Replace Dubcek

AU0605195291 Prague CTK in English 0929 GMT
2 May 91

[Text] Prague May 2 (CTK)—First Deputy Chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (Parliament) Zdenek Jicinsky described the demands by some deputies calling for the dismissal of parliament Chairman Alexander Dubcek from his post as an "expression of provincialism."

In his article in Thursday's economic and political daily "HOSPODARSKE NOVINY" Jicinsky says that it is "very shortsighted to make a certain personal antipathy towards a political representative, e.g. Dubcek, superior to the general political interests not only of the parliament but also of the common state of the Czechs and the Slovaks, and other nationalities."

During last year's visits to Czechoslovakia, U.S. and French Presidents George Bush and Francois Mitterrand, and former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher highlighted the year 1968 (the Prague Spring reform movement crushed by the Soviet-led invasion of five Warsaw Pact states) and the role of Alexander Dubcek. "Many people (in Czechoslovakia) are unaware of the fact that only two Czechoslovak politicians are known abroad—the present Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and Alexander Dubcek, a symbol of the year 1968, who was also the symbol of hope beyond our borders," Jicinsky said. (Dubcek is currently paying an official visit to New Zealand where he arrived from Australia).

Referring to the opinions of some right-wing deputies calling for changes in the Presidium of the Czechoslovak parliament and in the Federal Government, he said that in the current situation it would be a problem to create a new government on which the present "troubled" parliament would pass a vote of confidence.

"Political contours between deputies who made up the government coalition in the parliament at the beginning and those who were in opposition are vanishing," he said. This is evident from the fact that some government bills are not supported by deputies who were included in the lists of Civic Forum [OF] candidates (OF was the most influential political movement in the Czech Republic before its split on February 23 into the Civic Movement, the Civic Democratic Party, and the Civic Democratic Alliance), although the government is made up above all of Civic Forum ministers and its program is based to a considerable extent on the OF election program, Jicinsky said.

(Leaders of the Civic Democratic Party told CTK yesterday the party does not strive for changes in the government, whose ministers of the former Civic Forum

now mostly belong to the Civic Movement, provided that if a Civic Movement minister withdraws from the government he will be replaced by a Civic Democratic Party representative).

Draft Law Provisions on Secret Service Outlined

AU0705094191

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 30 April and 2 May and Prague CESKE A MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 2 May publish correspondents' reports, ranging between 400 and 650 words, on the 29 to 30 April meeting of the Federal Assembly's Defense and Security Affairs Committees. The meeting discussed the "draft law on the Federal Security Information Service (FIS) and the use of intelligence means."

Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 30 April on page 1 carries a 650-word "nel"-signed report on the 29 April session of the Defense and Security Affairs Committees. The report outlines the draft law as follows: "The FIS is to contribute to the protection of the constitutional system, to the territorial integrity and security of the state, and to the protection of human rights and freedoms. Its activity is of an intelligence nature and is centered on information gathering and evaluation. The FIS, therefore, does not have any executive components and does not carry out investigations according to the penal code. It must be strictly guided in its activity by constitutional and other laws and by other legal regulations. According to the draft law, the FIS is headed by a director, who is to be appointed by the president of the Republic. The director is subordinate to the CSFR Government and is accountable to the Federal Assembly for the execution of his post." The draft also provides for the establishment of a "special parliamentary control body," which will be obliged to investigate all complaints filed by individual citizens against FIS members or the FIS as a whole. This control body should also have the right to "order the FIS director to destroy all data pertaining to a citizen, if this data was acquired without justification or is not true."

Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 2 May on page 1 carries a 400-word "nel"-signed report on the 30 April session of the Defense and Security Affairs Committees. The report specifies which intelligence means the FIS will be authorized to use under the draft law. It says: "FIS members will be able to use telephone tapping, mail inspection, and the like only if other means of exposing terrorist, anti-constitutional, and similar activity are ineffectual or if they make exposure substantially more difficult. The inviolability of privacy and the secrecy of correspondence can be restricted only when unavoidable. Every instance of use of intelligence equipment is conditional on the prosecutor's previous consent. The permit to use intelligence equipment can be issued for a period of six months at the most. The prosecutor is entitled to examine whether the reasons for its use persist."

Prague CESKE A MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 2 May on pages 1 and 2 carries a 550-word Jan Subert report on the parliamentary committees' session. According to the report, CSFR Minister of Interior Jan Langos defended the draft law's provisions concerning the use of intelligence means, saying that "the activity of foreign intelligence services, the existence of international terrorism, and the existence of organized conspiratorial activity directed against the security of our state warrant the restriction of human rights and freedoms in strictly defined situations."

The Subert report includes also the following passage: "The deputies' efforts to formulate the best possible law on the Federal Intelligence Service contrasted conspicuously with a piece of information which Minister Langos announced at the close of the debate:

"The Slovak National Council approved the Law on the Police Force, which makes it possible to engage in intelligence activity in the interests of the Slovak Republic. The law authorizes the use of intelligence means—telephone tapping, the use of false identity papers, and the surveillance and registration of persons. The passing of this law paves the way for the formation of an economic counterintelligence service protecting the economic interests of Slovakia."

Print Media Sales Tax Cut to 11 Percent

LD0605205391 Prague CTK in English 1901 GMT
6 May 91

[Text] Prague May 6 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Financial Council today approved a reduction of the turnover tax on print media from 22 to 11 per cent.

For the past two months Czechoslovak journalists and publishers have been seeking a reduction in the tax, claiming that it would force the closing of publications struggling to cope with high newsprint and printing costs and would lead to the collapse of a free pluralistic press. The Czechoslovak Government's decision of March 28 to retain the 22-per cent tax and subsidize newspapers or periodicals in which the state is interested aroused strong criticism. On April 18, representatives of the press predicted the early demise of many publications and warned of the financial problems facing those that would survive. Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus stated that the extinction of some newspapers and magazines was "part of a healthy and natural process", adding that Czechoslovakia was experiencing a period when "deaths must prevail over births".

Official on Impact of U.S. Trade Concessions

AU0605152791 Prague CTK in English 1917 GMT
2 May 91

[Text] Prague May 2 (CTK)—The duty-free export of more than 300 products, or 27 percent of the entire volume of Czechoslovak exports to the U.S., has been

made possible by Czechoslovakia's addition to the U.S. Generalized System of Preferences (GSP), which went into effect yesterday.

Pavel Cernocky, head of the Press and Publicity Department of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry, told CTK today the ministry asked the U.S. to place Czechoslovakia on the list of countries receiving GSP benefits after it was granted most-favored-nation status on November 17, 1990.

Currently, the Foreign Ministry is seeking expansion of the number of products eligible for the trade concessions. GSP will bring Czechoslovakia a minimum of one million USD [U.S. dollars] annually if the present volume and structure of exports to the U.S. are preserved. (In 1989, Czechoslovakia exported to the U.S. goods worth 87 million USD.) But as Czechoslovak-U.S. trade is expected to go up, profits from the GSP will be higher, Cernocky said.

The GSP applies to selected foodstuffs, e.g. ham, jams, beer, and other alcoholic drinks, costume jewelry and glassware, chemical products, musical instruments, tires, furniture and products of the engineering industry, e.g. printing, rubber-making, plastics-making, knitting and metal-working machines.

Earlier, Czechoslovakia was added to a list of countries receiving duty-free trade concessions from the European Community.

Slovak National Council Names Five New Ministers

*LD0605204391 Prague CTK in English 2032 GMT
6 May 91*

[Text] Bratislava May 6 (CTK)—The Slovak National Council (Parliament) Presidium appointed here today five new members in the recently reshuffled Slovak Government and accepted the resignation of Slovak Minister for Economic Strategy Rudolf Filkus.

Martin Porubjak (Public Against Violence-VPN) was appointed Slovak first deputy premier, Anton Vavro (VPN) deputy premier in charge of economic reform, Pavol Demes (VPN) minister for external relations, Jozef Butora (Christian Democratic Movement-KDH) minister for construction and Jozef Krsek (KDH) minister of food and agriculture.

Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky told journalists Minister Filkus's reason for handing in his resignation was his membership in the Movement for Democratic Slovakia (Slovak ex-premier Vladimir Meciar's faction-ZDS), which declared itself to be in the opposition after the VPN formally split in April.

The Slovak Government will soon submit an updated programme statement, Carnogursky said. It will propose the eventual abolition of the Ministry for Economic Strategy. For the time being it is not convenient to

abolish branch ministries as the process of privatisation has not progressed as planned, Carnogursky said.

First Slovak Deputy Premier Martin Porubjak, born in 1944 in Bratislava, graduated from the theatre department of the Bratislava Academy of Arts but was barred for several years from working in professional theatres after being expelled from the Union of Slovak Dramatic Artists. Porubjak was one of the founders of the Public Against Violence (VPN) movement.

Slovak Deputy Premier in Charge of Economic Reform Anton Vavro (VPN), born in 1938 in Trnava, a graduate of the Bratislava School of Economics, was appointed Slovak deputy finance minister in January 1990.

Jozef Krsek (Christian Democratic Movement-KDH), Slovak minister of agriculture and food, was born in 1939 in Sasinkovo, studied at the Agricultural College in Nitra.

Jozef Butora (unaffiliated, proposed by KDH), Slovak minister for construction, was born in 1930 in Nemsova. After his expulsion from university, he worked in the building industry.

Pavol Demes (unaffiliated, proposed by VPN), Slovak minister for external relations, was born 1956 in Topolcany, studied natural sciences at Comenius University in Bratislava and Charles University in Prague, and worked at the Institutes of Parasitology and Immunology at Comenius University. He represents Czechoslovakia in the Council of Europe in the sphere of education.

ZDS Constitutes 18-Member Political Board

*AU0705083391 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA
in Slovak 2 May 91 p 1*

[CTK report: "The For a Democratic Slovakia Platform's Political Board"]

[Text] Bratislava—Members of the For a Democratic Slovakia [ZDS] platform's expanded organizational committee constituted a Political Board in Bratislava on 30 April. Vladimir Meciar was elected its chairman. The Political Board's members are Vladimir Meciar; Milan Knazko; Michal Kovac; Rudolf Filkus; Augustin Marian Huska; Martin Kontra; Edita Belusova; Roman Zelenay; Milan Secansky; Roman Hofbauer; Jozef Moravcik; Jozef Olejar; Arpad Matejka; Jozef Konecny; Lubica Galisova; Milan Mrenka; Eva Bartosova; and Tatiana Houdekova. The Political Board will operate until the For a Democratic Slovakia platform's regular bodies are elected at its constituent assembly in Banska Bystrica.

Movements Ask Meciar To Discourage Strikes

*AU0605143891 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA
in Slovak 30 Apr 91 p 2*

[E. Budinska report: "Against Early Elections"]

[Text] Bratislava—Several dozen representatives from the HUMAN movement, the Movement for Czechoslovak Understanding, KAN [Club of Nonaligned Activists], and signatories to the first Public Against Violence movement appeal of November 1989 assembled in front of the Slovak National Museum in Bratislava yesterday to express their disagreement with the demands for strikes against V. Meciar's recall, for restructuring the Slovak National Council Presidium, and for calling early parliamentary elections.

All the speakers—among whom was former Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Kucerak—agreed that fulfilling these demands would lead toward the destabilization of society. The meeting's participants signed an appeal addressed to V. Meciar that, among other things, states the following:

"Do not allow support for yourself to be manifested on the political scene by means of strikes. Even the most extreme groups—radical communists and separatists upholding Slovakia's fascist past—are speaking out in your defense. This phenomenon is alarming.

"Mr. Meciar, you have often spoken about political responsibility toward the citizens. Display this responsibility now. Distance yourself from all violent acts and acts of pressure that abuse the revolution's good name. Defend the democratic and legitimate state along with us."

Slovak Warning Strikers Make Political Demands

LD0605201491 Prague Federal 1 Television Network
in Slovak 1730 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] Thousands of workers joined the Ziar appeal of 24 April this year in the form of protest meetings. Those who appealed met today in Ziar nad Hronom for a one-hour warning strike that took place on Matica Slovenska Square. Why were they striking? They were striking over the fulfillment of the demand for the immediate reconstruction of the Presidium of the Slovak National Council [SNR] in line with the present political representation in the legislature and the urgent calling of early elections by year end.

As we were informed by members of the strike coordination committee and members of the enterprise committee of the Kovo trade union association, by the start of the strike at 1300, by more than 900 Slovakia enterprises and organization had joined their appeal.

Despite the fact that the words democracy and tolerance were loudly proclaimed at the rally, those present voted that they do not agree with the statement by the SNR deputy for this district, Jan Pauco. At the close, those present adopted a statement in which they demanded, among other things, changes in the law to enable the recalling of a deputy by his voters; they also said that the law should precisely set out the length of the electoral period and enable the SNR plenum to decide on important issues. The strikers also demanded the urgent passing of a law on a people's referendum.

Warning strikes also took place today in the Novaky power plant and the Dolina mine in Velky Krtis.

National Party Submits Draft Slovak Constitution

LD0305182491 Prague CTK in English 1445 GMT
3 May 91

[Text] Bratislava May 3 (CTK)—The Slovak National Party (SNS) has submitted a draft Slovak constitution providing scope both for an independent Slovak state and for Slovakia's existence within an integration with another nation, SNS representatives told journalists here today.

(Six proposals for a new Slovak constitution have so far been submitted, two of them demanding Slovakia's sovereignty).

SNS Chairman Jozef Prokes said the SNS does in no way want to restore Slovakia of the past (1939-1945) but to build up an independent, legal, civic state based on the principles of democracy and humanism, in which the executive power would be linked to no ideology or religion. The SNS draft Slovak constitution offers national minorities living in Slovakia all rights guaranteed by international conventions, he said.

SNS deputies will defend such a draft which will be in favour of Slovakia's sovereignty. However, if the majority of Slovakia's population wishes to remain united with the Czech Republic, the SNS is ready to agree with a state treaty but only if it respects Slovakia as an international legal subject, SNS representatives said.

According to the SNS draft constitution the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly laws are valid in Slovakia only if passed by the Slovak National Council (parliament).

The latest public opinion polls show that about 84 per cent of Slovaks prefer a common Czechoslovak state.

Slovak Government Discusses Conversion, Mochovce

AU0705095491 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA
in Slovak 30 Apr 91 pp 1, 2

["(fe)"]-signed report: "After the Tension, Creative Work"

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The government agreed to the proposal to make financial resources available from the federation's 1991 state budget for newspapers published by national and ethnic minorities. It tasked the chairman of the Slovak Government Council for National and Ethnic Groups and the chairman of the Slovak Government Council for Information Policy and the Mass Media with coordinating the distribution of financial resources amounting to 21 million korunas [Kcs].

Conversion and Financing Mochovce

The government made note of a report on the conversion of armament production and preserving essential armament capacities that Federal Economy Minister Vladimir Dlouhy will submit to a CSFR Government session. The report

recommended that the issue be discussed within the Federal Government. The material also contains principles for the federal bodies' policy on conversion. The government made note of a proposal to assume responsibility for a state budget guarantee for credit worth Kcs8.9 billion granted by a consortium of banks to the Slovak Energy Enterprise to guarantee construction of the Mochovce nuclear power plant. It agreed with the proposal to conclude an agreement between the Slovak Government and the USSR Government on commercial-economic relations and on scientific-technical cooperation. The government also made note of a report on the situation regarding the resettlement of ethnic Slovaks from the area in the Soviet Ukraine affected by the Chernobyl disaster. According to recent estimates, 130-150 families could ask to be resettled.

The government made note of a report from an inquiry into the maintenance of economic principles when providing material benefits to former members of the Slovak Socialist Republic [SSR] Government. The inquiry has established that the appropriate resolutions

adopted by the CSFR and SSR Governments enabled government members to draw on allowances for apartments, furnishings, and reimbursement of living expenses. The report provided an account of the forms and the extent of some former SSR Government members' violation of the economic principles. The results of the enquiry will be submitted to the Slovak Republic Prosecutor General's Office.

The Slovak Republic Government adopted several personnel measures. It recalled Colonel Dr. Jaroslav Svechota from his post as Slovak deputy interior minister at his own request for health reasons. It appointed Engineer Juraj Secko Slovak deputy economy minister. It recalled Engineer Juraj Kolek, Candidate of Sciences, from his post as deputy chairman of the Slovak Statistical Office in connection with his state of health. It appointed Engineer Juraj Schaner to this post. It recalled Engineer Vladimir Borodovcak from his post as head of the Slovak Government Office.

Defense Minister Rules Out NATO Membership

AU0605135791 Hamburg WELT AM SONNTAG
in German 5 May 91 p 4

[Report on interview with Defense Minister Lajos Fur by
"Sche" in Budapest; date not given]

[Text] Hungary is interested in buying weapons from the stocks of the former National People's Army [NVA]. Hungarian Defense Minister Lajos Fur told WELT AM SONNTAG in an interview. The minister will arrive in Bonn for an official visit this Sunday.

Fur said that Hungary "expressed its interest in some types of weapons and technical equipment of the former GDR National People's Army before Germany was united." "It was to be expected that following the unification of Germany, the total number of Army troops, which would generally be based on the Bundeswehr's Western technology, would be smaller than that of the two armies in the past. That meant that the modern equipment—which was in good condition—belonging to National People's Army, which was being disbanded would no longer be needed. We know that other countries have shown a similar interest, too."

Fur said that the reason for Hungary's interest is the fact that, in order to create the small, modern Army planned, the country is also planning to replace some of its existing obsolete materiel. "To this end, one of the possibilities for us would be to procure equipment that would correspond to the weapons systems that currently exist. The procurement of spare parts would also be ensured to a certain extent." However, Bonn has not yet made a decision on any supplies, he said.

Minister Fur expressly welcomed the fact that the exchange of military personnel has begun: "One of our officers is now preparing himself in Germany to begin studies at the Bundeswehr's Leadership Academy in Hamburg this fall. Of course, we are planning to send more officers to Germany, primarily for advanced training over short periods of time." He said that it will be very important for Hungary "to have officers who have studied at a German military academy, because in a few years we will have an opportunity to buy modern Western weapons." He added that Hungary would also like to see Bundeswehr officers study at its military academies.

Lajos Fur said that it was particularly important for Budapest to "cultivate better relations with Germany as a leading big power of Europe and NATO." Asked whether Bonn concretely shows the gratitude that it owes Budapest for having taken the decisive step in opening the borders to refugees from the former GDR in 1989, Fur said: "It is a good feeling for us to see our step assessed as a contribution towards the removal of the European division. We are happy that the opening of the border one and a half years ago brought Germany closer to the implementation of its goals. But of course, we do not consider that Germany owes us a debt in this respect,

nor do we expect Germany to be grateful to us for ever. However, we have realized—and we are happy about it—how well the relations between our two countries have developed."

Fur said that Hungary does not intend to become a NATO member. He said that his country has already made this quite clear to Secretary General Manfred Woerner. It is another matter "that we are trying to have close and good contacts with the political organs of NATO and its member states in all areas, including the military ones."

Asked whether Hungary would possibly permit NATO to have military bases on its territory, Fur said: "The military organ of the Warsaw Pact was disbanded in the recent past and the Soviet troops will definitely leave our country in a few weeks. We are therefore almost at a point where we will be militarily independent in the true sense of the word, and we highly appreciate that. So the idea of setting up NATO bases now would be totally unrealistic. Our people would not tolerate the government accepting the influence of another foreign power." In addition, Budapest would also have to consider that it would violate the Soviet Union's justified interests if it allowed NATO to set up bases on Hungarian territory.

According to Fur, the withdrawal of Soviet troops is proceeding "smoothly and on schedule." It will certainly be "completed by 30 June this year." On the domestic policy situation in Moscow, Fur said that it "undoubtedly offers surprises." He said he hoped "that the changes of the domestic policy course are aimed at the country's internal crisis and that no efforts will be made to find a solution outside its borders." He said he was confident that the Soviet leaders are increasingly proceeding from the "realities"—something that in Europe at present means the consolidation of cooperation. "It is of vital importance for us to have normal relations with the Soviet Union and to develop them at all levels as enduringly as possible."

President Goncz Speaks to Workers on May Day

AU0305154391 Budapest MTI in English 1544 GMT
1 May 91

[Text] Budapest, 1 May (MTI)—Arpad Goncz, president of the Republic of Hungary, addressed a message to Hungarian workers on May 1 stressing that the cohesion of freely-organized, powerful trade unions based on voluntary membership was gaining particular importance in the light of the current process of social transformation and the struggle to set up a free-market economy.

No democratic political order and smoothly functioning parliamentary democracy are conceivable without the effective representation of employees, interests, and the adjoining organizations. Trade union co-operation aimed at laying the foundations for a successful coordination of social interests is of crucial importance for Hungary. I am convinced that all trade unions will

realize that their members have identical interests, and that the differences dividing them have to be settled without delay.

All this calls for the drafting of a law on representation including the rights and responsibilities of employees and their organizations according to European norms, which is inviable without the participation and agreement of the trade unions, Arpad Goncz said.

President Goncz on Trade Union Dispute

AU0605135391 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian
30 Apr 91 p 3

[Interview with President Arpad Goncz by Andras Deak and Antal Szalay; place and date not given: "If They Cheat Us of Two Forints Today...."—first paragraph is NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Text] The president of the Hungarian Republic spoke about a suicidal debate when he described the dispute that has developed between old and new interest representation groups since the change of regime. Attempts to come to an agreement—and particularly to cooperate—have failed. According to President Arpad Goncz, this situation could lead to the disintegration of our trade union movement, and it even threatens the political stability of our country. These were some of the points mentioned by President Arpad Goncz in his interview with NEPSZAVA.

[Goncz] Trade unions and interest representation issues have always been of interest to me, they have always excited me. I came to know the union movement as a metalworker, and then I carried on with the Trade Union of Workers in Agriculture and Forestry [MEDOSZ] while I worked in the agricultural sector. I was also chairman of the Writers' Union. Therefore, I can safely say that I personally experienced the importance of the union movement. Indeed, even at that time, when trade unions were directed by the state and the party, it was the trade unions' role to defend interests. As for now, in this developing competitive society, trade unions are indispensable.

[NEPSZAVA] Nevertheless, interest groups are currently arguing because in the days of the party state, trade unions were not authentic, and consequently, there is no need today for the unions of that time; those unions are not legitimate, even if they have been restructured.

[Goncz] Free trade union elections could determine the strength and proportion of our various interest representation groups. Such elections could also serve as a basis for the distribution of workers' rightful heritage. That is what I think. Those are all moot points.

[NEPSZAVA] Could we really create a completely new situation? Indeed, old trade unions are saying that they have already gone through a change and that they know the exact size of the forces behind them. Consequently, there is no

political reason for Parliament to call general trade union elections, and there is no reason for Parliament to interfere in the property debate.

[Goncz] My impression is that the trade unions should settle this issue among themselves. However, I also think that until these elections are called, the disputing parties might continue to question each others' legitimacy, each others' organizational and political weight. I think that free elections constitute the only morally acceptable solution. I do not think that either Parliament, the government, or the president of the Republic can make a decision concerning this trade union dispute.

[NEPSZAVA] What if negotiations were unable to progress?

[Goncz] I would consider that to be a tragedy because national interests lie above the trade unions' immediate financial interests. It is in the interest of employees (the majority of the adult population of this country) to be represented by one trade union or another—but to be represented!—for their voices to be heard, and for their interests to be defended and expressed. That is much more important than the question of how many holiday resorts a particular trade union should be given, or how trade unions could appropriate part of the common wealth of workers and employees.

[NEPSZAVA] Mr. President, why are interest representation groups so stubbornly refusing to compromise?

[Goncz] Over the last few weeks, I have spoken separately to the leaders of the three interest groups most involved in this debate. My impression is that they are all completely ready for an agreement—in an oral form. They have completely identical viewpoints on trade union work, on free trade union activities, on the defense of union workers, and on the voluntary affiliation of members. They also agree that employees should constantly be kept up-to-date on privatization. In fact, I only sensed disagreement on the issues of legitimacy and property distribution. Do I need to tell you that words, property, and national interests are three different things? In any case, national interests come first, and anything else can only be secondary. The legitimacy dispute can be settled through elections. In my opinion, property distribution is a technical issue; indeed, whichever way they distribute it, that property still belongs to Hungarian employees. As a human being above political parties and trade unions, I feel that this debate is suicidal.

[NEPSZAVA] Could it be dangerous if some of the trade unions called upon political parties to help them in this debate? For example, old trade unions were alarmed by a motion put forward by a parliamentary representative of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], and by the common viewpoint expressed by the MDF's national board and the Alliance of Free Democrats' [SZDSZ] executive body.

[Goncz] In my opinion, the fact that our two largest political parties both urge the settlement of the trade

union problem really shows that the time has come to solve this interest representation debate. So, if the emphasis is put on a solution, then I can only be happy, because it is the moral obligation of political parties to take a stance in this interest representation debate. Nevertheless, an agreement can only be reached by the trade unions themselves. Otherwise, interest representation groups would be questioning their own legitimacy.

[NEPSZAVA] Mr. President, could you possibly act as a mediator between the disputing parties?

[Goncz] If the interested parties should ask me, I think that would be conceivable. I would not volunteer to act as a go-between, but I think that the settlement of this interest group issue is of primary importance, so I would help to whatever extent I could.

[NEPSZAVA] All the interest groups most involved in this debate have invited you to their 1 May celebrations. Could 1 May be a turning point in this debate?

[Goncz] I would not dare to make predictions, but I would like to address all three trade unions on 1 May. I would like to address the National Association of Hungarian Trade Unions [MSZOSZ], the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions [Liga], and the National Association of Workers Councils [Munkastanacsok]. Given that I will not be in Hungary on 1 May, I have written a letter which I hope they will all read aloud. I do not want to abuse my moral prestige or my position of power, and I do not want to force anything on any of the trade unions. I can only do one thing: I can remind them in a suitable manner of their social and national responsibilities in this instance.

[NEPSZAVA] Political parties are trying to boost the size of their electorate with the help of interest representation groups, and there is a risk of party interests becoming indistinct from trade union interests.

[Goncz] Linking—as opposed to blending—is a natural phenomenon everywhere in the world. Naturally, every party tries to boost its ranks by adhering to a narrower or wider circle of interests. There can be no sterile demarcation between parties and trade unions. However, I would also find the opposite impossible, i.e. if trade unions only based themselves on a party line—or on a religious line. Interest representation activities have to be free, both in principle and in practice. There can be no compromise on one point: the representation of the membership's interests. Otherwise, the organization will fail both morally and politically. However, I find it acceptable for interest representation groups to use the help of political parties to attain their goals.

[NEPSZAVA] Could Hungary's trade union movement collapse if moot points remained unsolved?

[Goncz] That is entirely conceivable. It would be a catastrophe because it would represent the failure of

society's most important voluntary organization. It would have extremely detrimental consequences for the country's situation.

[NEPSZAVA] In other words, Mr. President, you are supposing that a difficult period awaits our country, and that this period can only be overcome if strong interest groups stabilize our political situation and the situation of Hungarian employees, to whatever extent they can.

[Goncz] Nobody doubts the difficult nature of the situation. Trade unions are the tools of social solidarity, and they will be in great demand over the next few months and years. People are already concerned about their existence, and it is fully understandable if they are uninterested in everyday politics. However, under such circumstances, it is the interest representation groups that have to maintain the country's political activity. That is why I think that at the moment, out of all the political forces in this country, it is the interest representation groups that bear the biggest burden on their shoulders.

[NEPSZAVA] However, as employees see it, trade unions are unable to organize anything. They cannot obtain places in holiday resorts for their employees, and they are unable to represent their employees in privatization schemes.

[Goncz] It is a bad habit to equate places in holiday resorts with trade unions. In the days when trade unions conveyed the party's will and organized socialist emulation, it may well be that places in holiday resorts were all that mattered to employees. However, we have to get over that. I remember the days when I was a metal worker. Our old social-democratic trade union shop steward said to us that if they cheated us of two forints upstairs today, then they would cheat us of 20 forints tomorrow, and 200 forints the day after tomorrow; so he went up the payroll clerk, Mancika, and overturned the table on her.

[NEPSZAVA] But Mr. President! Where is Mancika these days? Where are the real owners? Indeed, the state is still the owner, or the pseudo-owner, an owner who uses political tools to exercise his power. Today, trade unions are really no longer sounding boards, and circumstances indicate that the time is not quite right for real interest groups either.

[Goncz] That is true. However, a trend has been set in motion. Neither enterprises nor trade unions can be "guided by hand" these days. Only trade union solidarity can face up to enterprise management nowadays. As far as I can tell, the entire current situation is determined by an old ingrained fear that those who have the money hold the power. Naturally, workers are afraid to organize themselves. That is precisely why the trade union law is so important. Workers and activists have to be protected through the strength of a law. That is the only way to get rid of a fear borne out of financial dependence. The most important economic trend these days is privatization,

where employees' interests have to be defended. However, privatization schemes are being carried out above the heads of employees, without their participation. Naturally, the final word should not be theirs, but from the point of view of their future, it is very important for them to be able to express and defend their interests.

[NEPSZAVA] Could steps taken by employees or by the government—for example, the drafting of a trade union bill—help break the current deadlock in this dispute?

[Gonczi] From my point of view, it really does not matter who drafts this bill. Even the trade unions could draft it; indeed, they could even submit their motion to Parliament with my assistance.

[NEPSZAVA] Are you making an offer, Mr. President?

[Gonczi] Of course. But only if my assistance is required, and only if the disputing parties agree. Furthermore, the government definitely needs to be involved in preparations. Indeed, this cannot happen in opposition to the government, we definitely need to obtain a consensus on that. According to my sources, such work is currently in progress. Regardless of who it is that actually proposes the bill, the trade unions cannot be excluded from the drafting of the bill.

[NEPSZAVA] According to you, Mr. President, Hungary's collapsing trade union movement constitutes a threat to the political stability of our country. However, according to political analysts, there are other factors that could bring about a political crisis, or even a government crisis. Do you think that your sphere of authority is large enough to restore a balance in a collapsing political situation?

[Gonczi] Personally, I do not think that there is a danger of political collapse, and I would be reluctant to talk about solutions to a problem that does not exist. I very much believe in one thing: All political developments are organic—in other words, they carry the seeds of their own solution. That is what we experienced 12 or 18 months ago, when a government was able to carry out a political "transition" without a party and without a parliament. Naturally, I would never like to go beyond my sphere of authority, not under any circumstances.

[NEPSZAVA] Mr. President, at a news conference following your inauguration, you stated that we already had an image of the future, that we could already see the day after tomorrow, but that we could not yet see tomorrow. Tomorrow is getting very close. What does tomorrow look like today?

[Gonczi] If we were to ask the Hungarian population whether it wanted to join the West, whether it wanted a Western-style market economy, Hungarians would conjure up images of the achievements and living standards of the West, and without thinking, they would reply "yes," because they would know what they were talking about. In that sense, I do not think that anybody yearns

for the modest—yet bearable—poverty of the past. However, most people have no idea what it means to go from protected poverty to the very initial stages of a nascent competitive society with its prospects of potential wealth. Indeed, by definition, there have to be losers in a competition. Moreover, the true reflexes of social solidarity have not yet developed. Nor are people aware that, on the whole, competition is useful for society. Pseudo-equality is now being replaced by open inequality—the result of competition—and we have to face up to that. Society will only accept this if the starting line is the same for everybody, and if those who fall behind are helped by the front runners. That is where interest representation plays such an enormous role. Let interest representation groups live up to the God-given role that humans expect of them.

[NEPSZAVA] In other words, if raw competition were to develop, it would be much more difficult to get rid of old bad habits?

[Gonczi] I am afraid so. We have a historic opportunity to avoid the traps that Western countries fought against for 100 or 150 years. That was the time it took them to discover a market economy: Employers have to sacrifice some of their power for the sake of employees.

[NEPSZAVA] Mr. President, what memories do you have of previous 1 May celebrations?

[Gonczi] I hated marching in front of Rakosi when nervous organizers snatched torn pictures out of people's hands to replace them with new ones. In general, I used to set off for these "celebrations" by thinking that I owed this day to the devil.

[NEPSZAVA] What about earlier 1 May celebrations?

[Gonczi] I have very few memories of such celebrations. I grew up in an intellectual environment, and I only got to know the familiar and direct atmosphere of 1 May when I worked in the machine works. I am convinced that this year on 1 May 1991, people will be on the streets out of their own free will, not because they have to. The holiday is regaining its original meaning, at last: The fact that it is a workers' holiday, a holiday of spring, and that work does not have to be constraint. Work can even give pleasure. That is still the case, even if the insecurity of many people's existence casts a shadow over this holiday.

SZDSZ 'Dissatisfied' With Six-Party Talks

*LD0305130191 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1000 GMT 3 May 91*

[Text] The Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] was the last to agree to the start of the six-party talks. The first talks have been held, but the SZDSZ is unchangingly dissatisfied with the results. Peter Marvanyi reports from a party press conference:

In contrast to the other five parties, the SZDSZ is disappointed at the progress of the six-party talks, and

continues to insist on their original conditions—the implementation of the results of the discussions under clear conditions, and making these public.

According to Ivan Peto, contrary to the claims of the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] and several other parties, the holding of the talks themselves is not an achievement. The government coalition cannot guarantee that possible agreements would be undertaken by the government and the factions: The word of a gentleman on these matters is not enough. For deputies to sit down to discuss various issues is common enough at committee meetings, but at the six-party talks, those questions through which the talks would function as a forum supplementing the mechanisms of parliament and the coalition platforms are not raised.

For example, according to the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], it is not worth having discussions about privatization because differences of opinions are too

great. The Forum recommended environmental protection and policy on debts as subjects. According to the SZDSZ, the only result on these subjects would be some kind of political statements.

Yesterday's events at the House Committee further confirmed the disappointment of the SZDSZ. Because the government parties, contrary to earlier practice, are forcing onto next week's agenda, without consensus, the issue of compensation for the churches, although the opposition had asked for a week's postponement. All six-party talks are ridiculous if, while there, deputies hold smiling chats, when at parliamentary sessions they continue to be at each others' throats, Ivan Peto said.

Objections also cropped up at the press conference that records of the proceedings at meetings are not being made public, so anyone can say what they like about what had actually taken place. It is possible to create illusions, but the lack of results from the talks would substantially reduce the prestige of all parties.

Prime Minister Meets With Ethnic Germans

PM0305141591 Katowice TRYBUNA SLASKA
in Polish 25 Apr 91 pp 1-2

[Ryszard Rudnik report from Opole: "Prime Minister Bielecki Meets German Minority in Gogolin: 'You Cannot Be a Foreigner in Your Own Country'"]

[Text] A meeting with German minority groups at Gogolin was the first item on Prime Minister J.K. Bielecki's agenda for his visit to the Opole region yesterday.

The head of the government was officially welcomed, "on behalf of more than 300,000 members of the German community," by Johann Kroll, chairman of the Social and Cultural Society of the German Minority [TSKMN]. Chairman Kroll recalled some of the aims and guiding principles of his organization: Above all, it is interested in stemming the flow of emigration to the FRG and setting up a platform to facilitate understanding between Poles and Germans, which is especially important in this region.

The prime minister expressed his hope that certain aspects of the plan for the country's new administrative division which have been left unclear will be finally sorted out. In no event will regionalization be imposed from the top: It is a natural consequence of administrative and economic transformations in Europe. In Poland, this process is scheduled to take many years. The prime minister made no secret of the fact that he was very much startled by the figure, quoted by Johann Kroll, of 300,000 Germans. "However," he said, "this gives us all the more reason to expect that such a large force should make a determined contribution to the process of building foundations for mutual trust between Poland and Germany."

The next speaker, TSKMN Deputy Chairman Henryk Kroll, proposed a defense of the expellees' organization in Germany. He asserted that there was an urgent need to make arrangements that would facilitate their return to Poland. In his view, Germans associated in landsmannschaften organizations, many of which have relatives or friends in Poland, are also determined to strive for shared understanding and elimination of mutual prejudices. Kroll demanded an introduction of dual nationality for Germans in Poland. He asserted that the situation in the country was still unstable and said that we could not exclude the possibility of the old order's restitution. That was why it was essential for the German minority in Poland to be granted guaranteed rights based on international conventions, in particular the so-called Copenhagen document. The TSKMN deputy chairman also addressed the question of the approaching parliamentary election. He proposed that the system according to which the country would be divided into electoral constituencies should provide for a scheme whereby ethnic minorities congregated in larger communities (Byelorussian and German) could introduce their own

candidates into the Sejm. Once again, critical voices on the subject of regionalization were heard from the floor. Henryk Kroll's comments on this matter revealed that the German minority regarded the proposed regionalization scheme as yet another attempt to scatter and therefore weaken the German element. Kroll recommended that a special Opole region be set up within the boundaries of the Opole Diocese—excluding Brzeg, but including Olesno, Raciborz, and Gliwice instead.

The prime minister answered Kroll's speech with a sharp riposte. "You cannot be a foreigner in your own country: You can only be a Polish citizen of German extraction," he asserted. The prime minister said he regarded Henryk Kroll's view as not conducive to dialogue and mutual understanding, as well as standing at variance with both the Polish Government's intentions and those of Chancellor Kohl. Next, Kroll conceded that he was in complete agreement with the viewpoint presented by the head of the government and suggested that his original address may not have fully reflected his intentions.

In the course of further discussion, which was devoted mainly to problems connected with the teaching of the German language, a controversial proposal was put forward by Bernard Sojka. He suggested that Silesian youth should not do their military service any more in the Polish Army, but in specially formed joint Polish-German units.

To conclude the meeting, Henryk Kroll and Prime Minister Bielecki held additional brief talks in private. During the following news conference, Henryk Kroll described the discussion with the prime minister as tough and frank. At the same time, he read out a special official announcement on behalf of the TSKMN, condemning the recent brutal excesses by pro-Nazi gangs on the Polish-German border and calling for countermeasures to prevent such incidents in the future.

Balcerowicz, Bielecki Meet IMF Official

LD0605192891 Warsaw PAP in English 1750 GMT
6 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 6—On the third day of his visit to Poland, IMF Deputy Managing Director Richard Erb today had talks with Vice-Premier and Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz and met with Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki.

After the talks, Balcerowicz said that solutions to Poland's present economic problems should be sought in the structure of Poland's economic system, including transformations of the system of enterprises.

These changes can assume various forms, not only privatization but also those that ensure greater autonomy to enterprises. After all, one cannot deem the government a source of solutions to the enterprises' own problems, Balcerowicz said.

Prime Minister Bielecki and Erb exchanged views on the Polish economy, including the influence of the present condition of state enterprises and a considerable drop in trade turnover with the former CMEA countries on the state budget.

Deportation of Lithuanian 'Refugee' Criticized

LD0605230491 Warsaw PAP in English 2141 GMT
6 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 6— "The transfer of Lithuanian citizen Arunas Vasilyev, a legal ~~visitor~~ in Poland, to Soviet authorities in Legnica was an anti-humanitarian act," wrote representative of the Lithuanian Republic in Poland Dainius Junavicius in a letter sent today to Polish Internal Ministry Plenipotentiary for Refugees Zbigniew Skoczylas.

Junavicius recalled Skoczylas's public declarations made shortly after the tragic events in Lithuania that Poland would not deport Lithuanians to the Soviet Union which was the main motive for many Lithuanians, who had refused military service in Soviet armed forces and are now in Poland, to stay in this country. Poland's strong stance was then received with immense gratitude as major humanitarian aid during the difficult time for Lithuania, Junavicius wrote.

"The anti-humanitarian act in effect of which the life of Vasilyev is now endangered and which may signal change of Poland's position worries the Lithuanian Government and causes its fear that the Lithuanian citizens may no longer feel safe on the Polish territory," reads the letter.

The Lithuanian representative also asked for the explanation of circumstances under which Vasilyev had been transferred to Soviets and for the definition of Polish stance on the Lithuanians who are now staying in Poland.

Skoczylas told PAP that the decision to send Vasilyev to a Soviet military base in Legnica was made at a low level but in line with the regulations. The agreement on stationing of Soviet troops in Poland has an annex concerning mutual assistance in crime prosecution which means that Polish Police, military police, and border guards are obliged to give in deserters. Skoczylas explained.

Such persons come to my office almost everyday, he continued. To judge whether they are persecuted for race or outlooks is a difficult task. Unfortunately, many are actual criminals, Skoczylas said.

"The minister of internal affairs authorized me to personally supervise all such cases. I can assure you that nobody will be deported without my permission in the future," Skoczylas told PAP.

Decision Called 'Unlawful'

LD0605171791 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1600 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] A decision on handing over to the Soviet military authorities two Lithuanians, who illegally crossed into Germany at the end of April was unlawful, a PAP journalist was told in the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The decision was taken at low local level without consultation with the border guards command and with departments concerned. The Lithuanians should have been taken in by Poland, according to an agreement on re-admission signed by our country with the states of the Schengen group.

Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz on Economy

AU0305130791 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
29 Apr 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz by Maksim Bekhar; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] [Bekhar] Mr. Deputy Prime Minister, has it become evident that there are no easy and general recipes for the transition to a market economy?

[Balcerowicz] This is unfortunately true. We knew this in advance, however. Not only Poland, but also Bulgaria is in a difficult situation. We are all confronted with this state of affairs. In the first place, a tremendous number of problems have accumulated over several years. Second, the disintegrating Soviet market played us a dirty trick. If I am not mistaken its impact has affected your country to an even greater extent. Third is presumably the most important issue; the price structure was greatly distorted in the past. Our former prices did not tell us anything about the real economic situation. They not only forged the truth about economic results, accountability figures, but also all other data. This stemmed from the large subsidies for state enterprises, which were frequently unjustified, while prices were determined by the central government.

[Bekhar] Are you convinced that the economic reform should start with prices?

[Balcerowicz] It is difficult for me to say whether the reform should begin with prices. Economic reform consists of numerous measures. Nevertheless, prices are very important in this context, considering that a market economy cannot exist without realistic prices. On the other hand, under the conditions of such a drastic transition, prices are only the visible aspect of the reform, which applies to the initial phase, at least.

[Bekhar] Did the economic reform cause a shock in Poland?

[Balcerowicz] This concept is frequently used in economic debates. It usually describes a resolute reform, an economic leap, or a drastic transition. In this context, if we accept the term shock, I would rather call what took

place a shakeup. This definition, however, merely applies to our anti-inflation program. [passage omitted]

[Bekhar] Do you think that capitalism can exist in Poland and in postcommunist eastern Europe as a whole? I mean capitalism in the strictly economic sense of the term.

[Balcerowicz] If under capitalism you mean a market economy system where private enterprises and shareholder companies predominate, I think that this kind of capitalism is possible. Nevertheless, it is very difficult to achieve for the two following reasons: In the first place, because our starting position was very unfavorable. Second because of our sociopolitical structure. In Poland today we have a large group of manual workers while, on the other hand, there are the peasants, who though never deprived of their property, feel at great disadvantage. Nevertheless, they do not think how much they would have lost, in the long run, without the reforms. This is a great sociopolitical problem that should not be disregarded. [passage omitted]

[Bekhar] In many eastern European countries, Bulgaria included, the following dispute is under way: Should the Polish experience, also known under the term "Balcerowicz Plan," be universally applied? What does its author think on this subject?

[Balcerowicz] I think that every experience can teach a lesson. Nevertheless, the system of one country can never be totally applied to another. This is impossible, in the first place, because our starting positions are different. Second—because the different circumstances accompanying the economic changes in each country also differ from each other.

[Bekhar] Are there any common features?

[Balcerowicz] In my opinion there are the two following common features, namely: We cannot gradually descend from a very high inflation. This calls for prompt and resolute measures. The second common feature is the requirement that we should do everything in our power to reform the enterprises. It is utopia to believe that privatization can be accomplished in one day. In the meantime persons ready to take responsibility with managerial skills should take over the leadership of the enterprises.

[Bekhar] Which are the most difficult decisions?

[Balcerowicz] Those that involve personnel cuts. Managers should avoid increasing wages by all means, so that the enterprises are not deprived of their profits, or the profits diminished. All accumulated profits should be invested in technical equipment and in development programs. This is exceptionally important. I know that it is also difficult, but it pays to exert pressure.

[Bekhar] Mr. Deputy Prime Minister, do you know that Bulgaria owes at least 611 million rubles to Poland? How do you evaluate the chances of getting them back one day?

[Balcerowicz] A preliminary agreement was signed on this question. The debt is expected to be repaid in kind and in installments. Other possibilities, however, exist. Instead of getting the amount back from Bulgaria, we may invest the entire amount, or part of it for certain investments in Bulgaria, or in joint associations. We are ready to accept other proposals and are open to negotiations on this point.

[Bekhar] Do you not envisage more advantageous customs duties, especially for Bulgarian goods, so that they may more easily reach the market and our debts could be more promptly repaid?

[Balcerowicz] We are in favor of establishing spheres of custom-free trade relations between our two countries, not because one of us is indebted to someone else, but because this is the future for us, the former CEMA member states. In this connection we are ready to discuss any of your proposals. [passage omitted]

Ministers Assess First 100 Days in Office

AU0605095391 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
29 Apr 91 p 3

[Unattributed roundup of statements made by Leszek Balcerowicz, minister of finance; Michal Boni, minister of labor and social policy; Adam Glapinski, minister of land use management and construction; Janusz Lewandowski, minister of ownership transformations; Adam Tanski, minister of agriculture, forestry, and food industries; and Andrzej Zawislak, minister of industry; place and date not given: "A Hundred Days of the Bielecki Government"]

[Text] Jan Krzysztof Bielecki's Cabinet has now been governing for 100 days. That provides a sufficient vantage point for initial appraisals and assessments, which is what we sought from several ministers whose work is of particular interest to the public. What we asked them was: What was the greatest positive and the greatest negative surprise that your experienced in the past 100 days?

Leszek Balcerowicz

It has been a time of intensive work. The first period—getting to know each other—went quickly. In general, I think that cooperation within the government has worked out well. The problems that we are involved in solving are no simpler than those in the first period. I think that we are addressing them with the same degree of determination.

We have been working on current economic policy and on the planning of the budget among other things. We have been devoting even more attention than before to structural changes. Issues relating to privatization and the acceleration of changes in the way in which state enterprises behave have become more of a priority. In addition, we have been looking for new markets to minimize the complications linked to the collapse of the

USSR export market. The most absorbing part of our work was the negotiations with our Western creditors, especially over the last few days, as we proceeded toward their successful conclusion. The talks had been going on, with some interruptions, since the fall. They were an essential part of my work.

In general, economic performance is determined by two sets of factors: the rate at which change is proceeding in the enterprises and what is happening outside the country. Export opportunities have recently been severely curtailed by the collapse of the Soviet market. The complications that have arisen as a result are greater than we imagined. On the other hand, the question of our financial standing in the West has turned out well. All these factors that I have mentioned are reflected in an integrated fiscal plan, that is, the budget. Their negative impact has caused state revenue to decline, causes strains, and makes it imperative to curb expenditure.

I think that election campaigns—although the effect can never be accurately gauged—has a negative impact on the economy. The statistical data that we are now registering with a delay indicate that the presidential campaign did have an impact on the economy. The acceleration of wage growth has "boosted" inflation and has reduced enterprise profits in that wages are a cost element. Reduced profits also mean lower income tax revenue for the budget.

I think that every election campaign can cause enterprise managers to delay making decisions that will ensure growth. It is a real danger. The political atmosphere is always indirectly reflected in what goes on in an enterprise.

Michal Boni

To a certain extent, I was very much surprised by the very good way in which the prime minister and the other ministers have been cooperating. We are behaving like a good team despite the differences between us. Although we started out at a difficult time—a time of mounting social tension and without a stock of public confidence—we have managed to solve certain issues. However, this does not mean that I am completely satisfied with everything. We are talking a time that sees us in the midst of a budget crisis. We lack a clear success, and we cannot "sell" a success—we even did not manage that with the reductions in our debt. The government lacks a clear information and education policy.

I did not expect the scale of the problems to be so great. I did not think that the workload would be so enormous. The ministry has to do the following at the same time: first, put structures in order and second, we have to rapidly respond to tensions and conflicts. We have to resolve many matters immediately, but, at the same time, we cannot forget about strategic issues, and that is the third thing. I expected there to be social tensions, and I expect them to continue. It is time to answer a few fundamental questions. How can fiscal policy be combined with an anti-recessionary policy and a clear social

policy? We have to consider what path we will take in the future. What really is the public interest? These are questions not only for the government, but also for the parliament, the president, local authorities and the parties. It has become clear to me that we should talking about a model for a transitional period, and not about a model leading from some point in the past into the future. The public interest is the interest of the state. There are no two different sets of interests. The state is going through difficult times. People are worried about jobs and about wages. This danger has to be transformed into a desire for action. The worst thing is apathy. That is why it is so important to construct a social policy, to answer these questions. The government should not find itself just sitting opposite social partners and political parties. It should cooperate with them. Social policy must be created by numerous departments. The most that we can formulate in our department is a social welfare policy. It should be differentiated: It should aid young people and protect older people. It is essential that we shortly work out a compromise between the strategies for social change and for fiscal change. That is what I have been talking about since January—establishing precedence for the needs that can be satisfied.

Adam Glapinski

Few things surprised me. However, if I had to choose something, then what came as a positive surprise to me was the degree of public awareness and the attitudes of Poles in the so-called provinces.

The general stereotype view is that remnants of communism are particularly strong in public awareness and that people cannot think rationally about economic problems. I am also pleasantly surprised, if I can put it this way, by the attitude of intellectual elites outside the capital. Overall, my impression of Poland is better than when I took office.

On the negative side, when I took office I had a certain idea about the way in which the state operates, but I am horrified at the condition of the state administration. The central and local administrations are in a very serious state of crisis. This applies to organization, structures, the training of officials, and their way of thinking. The apparatus and structures that have been inherited do not suit today's reality. The state of officials' professional ethics, the organizational structure, and the scope of officials' duties are confused and unclear. The phenomenon is present at the highest level, in the Office of the Council of Ministers, and extends down to the lowest local government units. It poses a great threat not only to the Polish economy, but even threatens our statehood. I think that this state of affairs has to be altered quickly and resolutely. The next government has to produce a broad program for the reform of the state administration.

Janusz Lewandowski

The positive points are the more difficult part of the question. They no doubt include quickly acclimating to

Warsaw and the determination of my colleagues, who are resolutely clearing the way for Poland's privatization while being jostled from the left and the right. There is not much gratitude to be earned, but it is possible to move forward when one has a clearly defined goal.

What is also encouraging is the patience of that part of society that has borne the costs of economic transformation with dignity and has displayed confidence in ultimate success and in the choice of our path being the right one. The past 100 days have affirmed the surprising capacity of the human organism to adapt—we still think of ourselves as normal, despite the abnormal course of our lives (if enterprises displayed a similar capacity to adapt, then we would already be experiencing a Polish economic miracle!).

The negative points are: the short memory of that part of society that has already begun to yearn for communism or some other kind of welfare dictatorship and the ease with which many political groups and interests groups lose sight of the common interest. Privatization is, for example, a common interest, but I sometimes get the impression that it is an internal matter for the ministry of ownership transformations. On the other hand, the rumors that there is some special kind of "resistance" in Warsaw that makes it difficult to do anything whatsoever have fortunately proved to be only partially true.

I, as a liberal, am also not happy about the number of non-liberal measures that are scattered along the Polish path to a market economy. I am thinking of the compromises that we have had to make along that path (protective tariffs, for example!).

Adam Tanski

Before I became minister, I was a deputy minister in the same ministry, and before that, I spent years dealing with the same area of the economy. So, it would be rather difficult to find a situation that would surprise me, even in such a "difficult" ministry. I can, however, talk about my expectations, whether there have been disappointments, or whether my expectations have been fulfilled more quickly and to a greater extent than I could have imagined.

On the disappointments side, I would include the inability to extricate myself from matters that are not of the greatest importance: meetings, decisions, talks, or receiving visitors, and so on. I am, of course, talking about those that are of secondary importance or of no significance, but take up a great deal of time, which could be used more profitably. I could accuse myself of having failed to prove myself as someone who is capable of organizing his own work well were it not for the fact that essentially these things do not depend on me. Today, almost everyone who has some matter to deal with at a ministry feels offended if he cannot speak to the minister himself.

As far as weightier matters concerned, I was rather surprised by the degree of resistance (which probably stems from old thinking habits) toward the necessity of accepting economic

laws. I do not mean opposition to the concepts, solutions, and principles that we have established. I am talking about opposition to objective laws.

As for positive things? In view of the post that I hold, I am the target of many complaints from farmers representatives, which the press always scrupulously reports. At the same time, I come across many activities connected with the restructuring of agriculture that have been initiated at the grassroots level. I am surprised at the tempo that they have acquired in certain villages and regions. These are positive examples of the spirit of enterprise that is emerging in the Polish countryside. These activities, which are usually launched without any kind of publicity or pomp, are very important for the changes that have to take place in agriculture as well as in thinking about agriculture as being an entirely different sector of the economy from what it was until now.

I am pleased to see these things, especially when young people conclude that the countryside can also offer good business opportunities.

Andrzej Zawislak

What came as the greatest surprise to me in a negative sense was the degree of damage that had been caused to Polish industry by the organizational arrangement that I call the "Bermuda triangle," that is, the system of three sources of authority in the enterprise: the director, the employee council, and the trade unions.

What surprised me the most in a positive sense was the professional competence displayed by my colleagues and and the extent to which directors are committed to preventing the de-industrialization of Poland.

National Bank Cuts Interest Base Rate

AU0605140091 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA and Economy and Law Supplement in Polish
30 Apr-1 May 91 pp 1, 1

[Piotr Aleksandrowicz report: "Interest Rates Cut—Cheaper Loans?"]

[Text] The decisions made by the chairman of the Polish National Bank are a clear signal to the economy—especially the financial markets—that inflation is falling and is under control.

Latest forecasts show that the price rises for April will be in the region of 3 to 3.5 percent. This would give an annualized rate of 42 to 51 percent, if the April percentage rate is maintained for the rest of the year. On the other hand, April prices of goods and consumer products will be 72 to 75 percent higher than they were in April 1990. Additionally, if one were to calculate the inflation rate by using the increase in the price of industrial production it would give an even lower inflation figure.

Lowering the interest base rate to 59 percent would seem to be a sensible move from the point of view of trying to maintain a positive level of interest rates, in real terms, on fixed term deposits and borrowings.

However, it is the banks that will ultimately decide how much we will have to pay to finance loans and what interest rates will be payable on deposits. In the recent past, the difference between the central bank's base rate and the interest rates paid by commercial banks was quite substantial. Fixed term annual deposits with quarterly—and in some instances monthly—interest capitalization often amounted to over 100 percent annually. Interest payable on loans thus had to be much higher. In some cases, it amounted to 10 percent monthly, namely, almost 200 percent annually.

The cut in the base rate should lead to lower borrowing costs, as well as lower rates of interest payable on deposits. Nevertheless, this may turn out to be less than is being anticipated by some enterprises that are short on liquidity.

One reason for this may be that despite the high cost of borrowing, recent demand for money has far outstripped the available supply—that is to say, it has been substantially higher than the "ceilings" on the pool of available money for lending that are imposed by the National Bank of Poland on commercial banks in its attempt to keep control of the money supply. The wide margin between demand for and supply of finance makes it unlikely that banks will wish to lower the costs of their financial services and products.

The second reason why a substantial cut in the cost of borrowing may not materialize is that the bank's profit margins have also been squeezed hard and some banks might find it difficult to bring down interest rates on loans by a substantial amount.

Even if interest rates are lowered, it does not necessarily mean that this will lead to a revitalization of the economy.

That will continue to depend on the total amount of available money. It will be equally important to see how this money is being distributed by individual banks.

In the first quarter of 1991, total finance available to the economy increased by 11.2 percent. Thus in real terms it decreased. There is a good possibility that it will increase in real terms in the second quarter, that is, if there is no sudden increase in lending to the state sector, as happened in the first quarter. The overall pool of money available to the state sector and to the economy is limited by the conditions imposed by the IMF. It would appear that in real terms the supply of available finance will increase in the second quarter and it is this fact and not the drop in interest rates that will be more important to the economy.

However, a more effective distribution of credit—even assuming the present "ceiling" on available money—would be even more effective in stimulating the economy. To date, the banks have been taking a very tolerant attitude in respect of their debtors. It is true that the number of enterprises that have lost their credit rating has increased in the first quarter, but not by as much as one might have expected given the deteriorating financial situation.

There are several widely held views on why banks are continuing to lend money to enterprises that are in very poor financial shape or on the verge of insolvency. In some cases it is the result of good personal contacts and in others it boils down to some sort of pressure being exerted on the bank. One interesting theory says that banks are lending short-term money to very weak enterprises in order to continue to make a profit and not to have to suspend lending. If that were to happen, the bank could find itself in a difficult situation when the insolvency of the debtor became public knowledge and this would inevitably have a knock-on effect on the bank's own balance sheet.

More Press Reaction to Government Reshuffle

AU0305184391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1726 GMT 3 May 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/5/1991—The Bucharest press continues to comment on the recent government reshuffle.

"TINERETUL LIBER": A spectacular step applauded by too few supporters and contested by too many opponents. (...) Mr. Petre Roman proves to be a versatile politician, sometimes surprising, at other times predictable but always impermeable. (...) the principles (of the reform) are good but their application is a disaster. And then the prime minister comes up with this new finding. He tries to confuse everyone and manages to fool no one. The stake were the people not the ideas. (...) an awkward, labile and inefficient manœuvre, almost a blunder (...)

"CURIERUL NATIONAL": The new government team starts on a road although the highly necessary consensus has not been reached on a societal level. Confusion, mean interests and naive ideas will endure. The Romanian society is still divided into people who violently protest against the government policy and people who approve of that policy but will not show.

"AZI": (about the opposition) You want foreign investment but you do not vote a law in this respect. You want a government reshuffle but you do not agree to it. You want to govern but you do not want to assume any responsibility.

"DREPTATEA": (on the government) You co-opted personalities who do not bear your flag even if they do not have a flag of their own.

"DIMINEATA": The harshness of the vote once again drew the prime minister's attention to the fact that the first echelon of the National Salvation Front—most of them eliminated from the new leadership of the ruling party—do not accept "combinations and strategies" of which they are not informed.

"OPINIA STUDENTEASCA" ["STUDENT'S OPINION"] (an independent newspaper): The solution is exotic and provisional. Without an economic revigoration in the next few weeks, the reshuffle is but a prolongation of the governors lack of skill (...). The time of half measures is past. President Ion Iliescu's entering the political arena proves that he is willing to calm the people down and to listen to them. So far people have obeyed him unconditionally. From now on he has to regain their confidence.

"EXPRES" (an independent weekly): Since instead of being scared the power should be contented with the fact that it faces a still weak, highly divided opposition with personalities who either are ready to accept bits and pieces or are quite unpopular, there are only two possible explanations for the tactics the power has adopted: Either the power feels jeopardized by centrifugal forces from within and then shouts out about the threats posed

by the opposition in an attempt to pull its own ranks together and postpone its own division or it cannot accept the idea of opposition, which would be dramatic.

"ZIG ZAG MAGAZIN" (a magazine of news and feature reports): The president's firm refuse to give up his prankish pupil as well as the hesitation of a massive opposition who are all afraid that to take government responsibilities in this period of crisis would mean compromising electoral chances put an end to the solution of a government of national union(...). The other changes only strengthen the Roman nucleus' control over the reshuffled government cell. Will the prime minister be able to cure the economy of its flu by administering it rose a hint to the FSN [National Salvation Front] electoral emblem which is a rose syrup? [sentence as received]

"FLACARA" (a political, social and cultural weekly of opinion): The National Salvation Front made a "present" in order to enhance its credibility. However, it is not enough that it gives, it should also lose something. Stifled by the overwhelming majority it won in the elections, the FSN gets stuck even when it openly adopts a strategy of political mobility. With a lower election percentage the FSN government would have had a greater mobility and its political games with a stronger opposition would have had credibility. This is probably what the FSN will get in the next elections, which it might have to call earlier.

Baltazar Refutes Anti-Roman Newspaper Article

AU0405165491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1427 GMT 4 May 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/5/1991—"A government is not supposed to give an answer to all opinions, attacks, manœuvres in the press. A government must answer in front of the nation, of its elected and not self-proclaimed representatives," reads a statement by the government spokesman Bogdan Baltazar, sent to ROMPRES.

But I shall reply, nevertheless, to an article signed by Mr. Octavian Paler, published in the 3 May issue of "ROMANIA LIBERA."

If Mr. Octavian Paler insults the people he is the son of, that cannot be caused by ignorance, narrow-mindedness or egotism. There could be only one reason for that, opposition by all means, under any kind, and beyond reason, which causes distortion and spiritual exhaustion.

"It is insulting to try and mock the idea of hope in a Romanian miracle, as it was confessed by Prime Minister Roman, and which was expressed as a belief in front of the joint chambers of a parliament elected by the people, in which most parliamentarians found nothing false, exaggerated or compromising, emphasized the government spokesman. The conviction that we all, and not only the government can turn our country into a miracle was shared and ratified in this way.

The most serious fault Mr. Paler has made is that he has not noticed that Premier Petre Roman did not claim in any way this forthcoming miracle to be due to the government. The premier considered that our nation and not a government, a political party, a parliament had prospects to make an economic miracle. The current government is, to a great extent, the government of breaking-off solutions in the economic life of the country. All future governments will have to thank the present one, if they are sincere, for having borne the most heart-breaking task of the passage from economic totalitarianism to openness and freedom.

The government did not assume any merit for future Romania, strongly and deeply rooted in the being of the Romanian nation, and which is the land so good to live on, continues Bogdan Baltazar.

But tell us Mr. Paler, asks the government spokesman, if we had not believed in the prospects of this renewal, why should we have taken to the streets, risking our lives, in December 1989?

You too, you could be of help in this miracle, by enlightening and not by seeding discouragement and rout. Anyhow we are confident, the miracle will be produced, beyond you and us.

VR Condemns 'Anti-Romanian Meeting at Eger'

AU0605104491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1000 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 6/5/1991—A communique of the Steering Committee of Bucharest's branch of "Vatra Romaneasca" Union [VR] says:

Concerning the documentary showed by the Romanian television on 3 May 1991, presenting a summary of a meeting held at Eger, Hungary, Bucharest's branch of the Union "Vatra Romaneasca" specifies: "The anti-Romanian meeting at Eger is no surprise for us, as it one of an endless series of events specific of the Hungarian revisionist strategy. The meeting at Eger is part of a complex scenario aiming at destabilizing the home affairs and tearing the unitary Romanian national state apart. But we have also seen that the voice of respect for truth was also heard at Eger. We refer to the proposal of some of the participants that the Hungarian nation and state should acknowledge it was guilty of crimes against the Romanians in Transylvania. Romanian citizens present at Eger, among whom Laszlo Tokes repeated well known lies of revisionist Hungarian propaganda, which means treason of the Romanian state.

Being confident that the ideas and theses supported at Eger do not express the feelings and thoughts of the great majority of Romanian citizens of Hungarian nationality, reads the communique, we think that Romanians and Hungarians together, we shall succeed to make such irresponsible planes inoperative.

Romanian and Hungary face serious social and economic problems, whose solving is decisive for their destiny. Actions of the kind of the meeting at Eger can only compromise our capacity of overcoming the difficult moments our two peoples, as well as the other East European peoples, pass through.

Government Upholds Newsprint Price Ceilings

AU0405211191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1845 GMT 4 May 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/5/1991—In reply to recent protests published by the Romanian press on the newsprint price, the Department of the Wood-Processing Industry sent certain data to the national agency "ROMPRES."

The department specifies the price increase was mainly caused by production costs, as a consequence of the price liberalization of raw materials, fuel, power, transport etc.

According to Decision 239/1991 on the second phase of price liberalization, the production costs of the company "Letea" Bacau were further increased with 151 percent as against the price before 1 April 1991.

As calculations and analyses showed the percent of wholesale price increase couldn't be lower than 141, the company "Letea" sent provisional invoices to its beneficiaries, with increased prices. The financial regularization between suppliers and beneficiaries will be concluded in keeping with the government's decision on the percent of raising the newsprint price.

The national agency "ROMPRES" announces that the government spokesman made the following statements as regards the aforesaid data given by the Department of Wood-Processing Industry:

"Irrespective of the economic explanations, some of them well grounded, it is unacceptable to encroach upon a decision of the government, establishing a maximum level of the newsprint price and ask a price for which no approval has been given. Those responsible for this act of indiscipline will be subject to the administrative measures asked by the situation. "At the same time, as the material includes no real 'project' of making paper production efficient, of increasing productivity, of sparing resources and identifying new economic solutions of an issue such as that of the newsprint price, with obvious social and political implications, the government will open an economic-financial analysis for solutions to be found that should make newsprint accessible to the press, under conditions of maximum economic efficiency and full openness."

Ratification of Treaty With USSR Contested

AU0305103591 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 25 Apr 91 pp 1, 2

[George Munteanu article: "Should the 'Model' Treaty be Ratified?"]

[Text] Signing, on 5 April 1991, together with President Iliescu, the new "Treaty of Cooperation, Good Neighborliness, and Friendship" between Romania and the USSR, the Soviet leader pretended that this document, with incalculable consequences for the coming 15 years, should be a "model" for the conclusion of similar understandings with the former members of the defunct "Warsaw Pact." Let us examine, even in brief, what kind of a "model" this treaty could be, and for whom!

As is known, a few years ago the USSR declared the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact of 23 August 1939, including its additional "protocol," as null and void. The European states, along with the United States, also denounced that pact. However, the absence of any reference to the annulment of the odious "pact" in the text of the new Romanian-Soviet treaty deprives it—in accordance with the most elementary norms of international law—of any legal validity. As one can see from the published version of the treaty, it is a "Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact" redivivus, regarding Romania and the Soviet pillage, by the "right of force," of Bessarabia, North Bukovina, and the Hertza District.

However, the legal anomalies of the treaty are not limited to just that. As is known, the Serpilor [Serpents] Island and the adjoining area were abusively annexed by the USSR in 1948, that is after the signing of the Paris Peace Treaty in 1947. Asked about this at the news conference and before, President Gorbachev said he "is not aware" of this issue. Then, in strictly legal terms, what kind of "model" can this treaty be, a treaty signed by one side, without full knowledge of the case, and by the other side, with knowledge of the fact that it has sanctioned an inequity? To adopt another approach: did anyone mention the restitution—not infinitesimal, but integral—of the Romanian treasury deposited in Russia's banks during World War I? Did they even consider the fact that—even ignoring Bessarabia's rape in 1812, in contempt of any legal norms—North Bukovina and the Hertza district never belonged to the eastern empire until the June 1940 "ultimatum"? What about the movement to the south of the thalweg of the Chilia arm of the Danube, with the annexation of five small islands belonging to the Romanian territory? How does the provision of the treaty's Article 1—which stipulates the "right of peoples to decide their destiny"—accord with the aspiration of the Romanians between the Dniester and Prut Rivers, Ceremus, and the Black Sea for self-determination and independence? The recent Japanese-Soviet communique mentioned the dispute around the four Kurile islands occupied by the USSR in 1945; the recently signed Romanian-Soviet treaty makes no mention whatsoever of the painful—for Romania—dispute regarding Bessarabia, North Bukovina, and the Hertza district. Concerning the drafting of the text itself, what is one supposed to understand by the stipulation that "in any situation," Romania and the USSR will consider themselves as "friendly states"? Such statements—and there are quite a few of them—amount to a totally unacceptable—and even dangerous?—legal, political,

and diplomatic commitment, particularly when one thinks of all the possible situations that may arise.

In view of the aforementioned considerations and other inadvertencies which the Romanian Parliament's specialized commissions must examine, the treaty does not fulfill the minimum conditions for ratification in its current form. Neither does its provisional status—until the adoption of the new constitution—offer a primary legal foundation for its ratification. Some people claim that we should sign this treaty as it is an improvement on the previous Romanian-Soviet treaty, whose validity would otherwise be extended automatically. However, the significance of such an action would exceed by far even the significance of actions such as the miners' incursion. Anyway, the treaty's ratification by Romania's Parliament only becomes legal when our legislators reconsider its text, so as not to confound the so-called "realpolitik" with the policy of accepting dictates and accomplished facts, regardless of who they come from and in what form. Before anything else, it is necessary to expressly spell out that—while observing the provisions of the Helsinki Accord and the additions to it, including the recent Paris Charter—it is unacceptable for Romania to keep silent about the annexation by the USSR of territories that belong to it by right. The current treaty must stipulate this right and also envisage the possibility of the return of these territories by peaceful means, through negotiations, as happened in the case of the GDR and as the current USSR legislation began to foresee.

No Romanian sovereign and no Romanian Royal Council ever recognized the estrangement of Romanian land—until the Royal Government of June 1940, which stated that "it saw itself forced" to accept only the temporary "evacuation" of Bessarabia and North Bukovina; in no way did it cede those territories to the Soviet Union for good. Only the inter-war Komintern activists advocated such treason; later, our communist-dominated and Moscow-subordinated government carried out this treason in actual fact, on the occasion of the signing of the Peace Treaty in 1947. Now, in the spirit of the revolution started on 16-22 December 1989 and the construction of the state of law, the FSN [National Salvation Front] national convention of 16-17 March 1991 has officially declared its support for the decision of the Republic of Moldova to reject the enslaving referendum organized by the USSR leadership on 17 March 1991. What attitude will our senators and deputies adopt regarding the ratification of the new Romanian-Soviet treaty? Will they ratify it in its current form, or will they demand concrete changes in its text, in accordance with "the right of peoples to decide their own destiny?"

Ministry Denies Weapons Delivery in Croatia

AU0605152891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1421 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 6/4/1991—Following the news published in the May 6 copy of daily "POLITIKA"

that the Yugoslav Popular Army would have retained near Vukovar a Romanian vessel "carrying armament and ammunition for Croatia," the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been authorized by Romania's Government to give the following statement:

After detailed verification by Romanian relevant bodies and authorities, no delivery of armament and ammunition was found to have been made to any foreign country by a Romanian vessel via the Danube.

Foreign Ministry Communique on Hungary Treaty

AU0605104191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0922 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/5/1991—The governments of Romania and Hungary, willing to promote good neighborliness relationships, to strengthen confidence and security, have agreed to work out a bilateral open skies understanding, writes a communique forwarded for release to the national news agency "ROMPRESS" by the Romanian Foreign Ministry.

The agreement, resulting from the negotiations had by the two countries' Foreign Ministries and military experts, stipulates the conditions under which each of the two countries will be entitled to a specific number of annual reconnoitering flights by an airplane free of armament and suitably equipped, to satisfy that the other party's armed forces and military activities do not pose a threat.

The two parties, runs the communique, share the belief that the conclusion and successful observation of this agreement, besides its positive effects for the bilateral relations, will provide, as a European premiere in this respect, valuable and encouraging experience for the efforts that are being made to draw up a multi-lateral Open Skies Treaty.

The Romanian-Hungarian Open Skies Agreement is to be signed in Bucharest on 11 May by the foreign secretaries of state and submitted for approval in keeping with each country's constitutional procedure, ends the communique.

Crude Import Shortages Negatively Affect Trade

AU0605094091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0851 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 6/5/1991—The main external factors that have negatively influenced Romania's international commercial relations in 1990 and the first 1991 quarter were:

First, the dissolution of the Comecon, which seriously affected Romania's foreign trade, depriving it of traditional foreign markets (mainly the USSR market) and of raw material and energy resources supplies of vital importance for the normal operation of the national economy. With effect from 1 January 1991, all commercial exchanges between Romania and its former CMEA partners have been based on convertible currency payments. It is therefore estimated that Romania will have to reduce its imports of raw materials and energy resources by 2 billion dollars this year, primarily in the relations with the USSR, while Romanian exports fall short of compensating for the necessary imports.

Secondly, the Gulf conflict caused Romania important losses especially by cutting all crude imports from Iraq, which was currently delivering crude worth of 150 million dollars a month, in favourable terms, barter included. Consequently, the losses incurred by Romania amounted to 600 million dollars for desisted Iraqi crude imports alone.

On the other hand, the almost 4 million tonnes short of crude imports in 1990 as against 1989 reflected in processing and reexportation operations based thereon, which brought about additional economic losses to Romania.

If to the above causes we add the fact that in 1990 food exports were discontinued, while 800 million dollars imports were made for agriculture, which led to an overall deficit of 1 billion dollars, if we also take into account the drop in the home production of ores, coal and crude, which called for additional imports of raw materials at the cost of another 1.2 billion dollars expenses, we have, in figures, the general picture of Romania's foreign trade in 1990 and the first quarter of 1991.

Osijek Police Detail Borovo Selo Shooting

AU0605173991 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
3 May 91 p 3

[Text] At a news conference organized by the Osijek Police Station on 2 May, Josko Moric, acting assistant minister of internal affairs of the Republic of Croatia, stated the following:

"This morning, around 0300 two police vehicles, whose passengers included two policemen from the Osijek Police Station, were travelling on the Dalj-Borovo Selo road. On exiting Borovo Selo, in the direction of Dalj, they stopped and the driver of the first car came out of his car to consult his colleagues in the other vehicle. While three policemen were standing between the vehicles, somebody opened fire on them from the direction of some unlit houses. The policemen were not armed with rifles [dugo oruzje]. They hurriedly got inside the vehicles and tried to get away from fire. Mario Marinovic was grazed on his head by a bullet and sprayed by broken glass. The driver, officer Jurica Tolj, was hit in the right foot. The first vehicle managed to escape, while the policemen in the second vehicle remained stationary trying to contact their station with radio.

In a Cross Fire

At about noon today, the Vukovar Police Station set up a team to investigate the incident. The team and its escort left for Borovo Selo with the intention of gathering facts and reporting on the missing policemen. When they arrived in front of the Borovo Selo local community building, where the headquarters of the Serbian Democratic Party is, they found themselves caught in the crossfire from automatic weapons, snipers with silencers, and grenade launchers. Stipan Bosnjak, head of the operations department of the Vinkovci Police Station and officer Mladen Cupic were killed. Several people were wounded. The number of wounded policemen and citizens is still not known.

At about 1230 the policemen in Borovo Selo were sent help from the direction of Dalj consisting of one unit of policemen of the Osijek Police Station. As soon as they arrived in Borovo Selo they found themselves caught in strong crossfire coming from the barricades. The same type of weapons were used as previously. Officers Damir Vratkovic and Zeljko Pongrac and citizen Tomo Zolota, who was fishing from a nearby boat on Danube were wounded.

During this armed attack a group of some 100 armed men in plain clothes set off from Trapinja in an attempt to attack the police unit from the rear. Fortunately, the showdown did not take place.

Bullets From Heavy Weapons

At about 1500 an Army unit consisting of seven personnel carriers arrived via Dalj. The Osijek Police Station unit let the Army unit passed through without any misunderstanding.

On entering Borovo Selo, the terrorists opened fire again. After a while they stopped shooting, removed barricades, and let the Army vehicles enter the village. Armored personnel carriers stayed for half an hour and then left in the direction of Dalj with the intention of removing the police unit from Borovo Selo. They were followed by armed civilians who shot at the policemen. The crew of the third armored personnel carrier of the Yugoslav People's Army fired shots over the heads of the policemen and a police armored vehicle was hit by bullets fired from heavy weapons. The police did not shoot back at the personnel carriers, their crews, or soldiers.

At about 1800, assistant secretary of the Novi Sad Secretariat for Internal Affairs stated that two wounded policemen, Zvonimir Metkovic and Dalibor Krizanovic, who were left behind in Borovo Selo last night, were brought to a Novi Sad hospital and that they will be sent back to the Osijek Police Station.

Croat Official on Serbia's Involvement in Croatia

AU0705125791 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
5 May 91 p 3

[Interview with Slavko Degoricija, deputy minister for internal affairs of Croatia, by Mladen Plese; place and date not given: "Serbs Must Dissociate Themselves From Terrorists"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Plese] After the events in Borovo Selo, one could read in the Belgrade press for the first time that members of the so-called volunteer units of the Serbian National Renewal from Serbia took part in the clashes.

[Degoricija] We have irrefutable proof that Serbia is directly involved in attacks against Croatian people, not only in providing material goods, weapons, and other material, but also by sending its representatives, whose aim is to create a suitable climate for extremism and terrorism. This is, after all, confirmed by the speeches of Seselj, Paroski, the Serbian minister for Serbs outside Serbia, the deputies of the Serbian Assembly, the representatives of the regional local authorities of several Slavonian communes, the meeting in Jagodnjak where they were openly calling for an armed uprising, secession from Croatia and the creation of, as Seselj said, Serbia on the territories where Serbs live. This was also repeated in Plitvice the other day. [passage omitted]

[Plese] What will the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs do to prevent a further escalation of violence?

[Degoricija] After the events that took place in Pakrac and Plitvice our view was that individual cases of terror will happen again and that we have to be ready for it. To prevent it we must first of all thoroughly cover the territory of our republic with police posts, which is in fact the rationale behind new police posts in Dalmatinska Zagora and Dalmatia. We have also covered

parts of Lika and Slavonia with new police posts. We will continue doing this. However, to prevent individual additional cases of terror from occurring, it is also important that citizens organize themselves properly. Of course, the citizens must not carry out their own actions because this would lead to anarchy. Citizens must be in the position to have good communications with police posts and, in case they need to, count on a speedy and efficient intervention by the police. [passage omitted]

Officials: Borovo Selo Attack by 'Terrorists'

LD0605123291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1148 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] Zagreb, 6 May (TANJUG)—The attack on the [Croatian] police in Borovo Selo on 2 May this year was carried out by professional terrorists, the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs [MUP] claims. According to a statement by Slavko Degoricija, deputy minister of internal affairs for Croatia, the MUP had evidence that trained terrorists with highly professional weapons and ammunition attacked the police in an ambush in Borovo Selo. There is evidence indicating the presence of Romanian terrorists.

At a news conference in Zagreb it was also stated that the number of victims among the attackers of the police was very great, and photographs have been taken of bodies floating down the Danube. The MUP will make public more detailed information when it finishes an investigation, journalists were told.

Shots Fired at Mesic's Car

LD0605135191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1157 GMT 6 May 91

[Summary] Zagreb, 6 May (TANJUG)—Slavko Degoricija, deputy minister of internal affairs of Croatia, and Milan Brezak, an assistant minister, gave further details of the attack on members of the Croatian police in Borovo Selo on 2 May at a news conference in Zagreb today.

At the end of the news conference, Degoricija confirmed reports concerning the fact that on the night of 5 May, at about 0155 hours, an unknown person fired shots at the car of SFRY Presidency Vice President Stipe Mesic near Slavonski Brod. Mesic was not in the car, and as the car is bullet-proof, the driver was not hurt either. Journalists were shown the damaged car.

Army Attacked in Split; Soldier Killed

AU0605125991 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 6 May 91

[Mirko Radak report]

[Text] Split is cut off from the rest of the world. Tens of thousand of demonstrators, mainly workers, have blocked all city streets and military installations and are stopping the military vehicles that are trying to reach the

headquarters of the Military-Naval District, where there are approximately 50,000 citizens. VECERNJE NOVOSTI reporter Mirko Radak reports from Split:

[Radak] The reason for the demonstrations, as the organizers, the Croatian Union of Independent Trade Unions of Dalmatia, explained, was the situation in which a Croatian village of Kijevo in the Knin commune has found itself after a blockade of several days.

Everything started after 1000 when the workers of Split Skver walked out into the streets. Shortly after that they were joined by the workers from the plastics firm, the workers from Bobis, and other Split firms. The rough estimate is that there were some 70,000-100,000 people in the streets of Split. Long columns of workers were moving through the streets of Victims of Fascism, (Marmondovo), and along the key toward the headquarters of the Military-Naval District carrying banners and Croatian flags, and shouting slogans: This is Croatia; this is free Croatia; we will not give up Kijevo; and so forth.

The situation is extremely tense, and the incident that unfortunately took place was hanging in the air. Four military personnel carriers, which were moving toward the headquarters, were blocked by the crowd at the exit, in front of Marijan Tunnel. One citizen laid down in front of military vehicles, and the road was blocked by trucks. Something similar happened in front of the Lora naval port, where Army vehicles were prevented from leaving the port. (?Five) Army jeeps were blocked near the Jugoplastika plant. Soldiers from the Visoka barracks did not even try to leave the premises, because the citizens were ready to confront them. The citizens of Zrnovnica, a settlement near Split, also demanded instructions on what to do if the Army appears.

Shots from automatic weapons were heard among the crowd in front of the headquarters of the Military-Naval District. According to unconfirmed information, there are some injured people. It has officially been stated that a soldier has been killed. He is from Macedonia. He has not been identified yet.

The current situation in Split remains tense. The leadership of the Split Commune is currently negotiating with the headquarters of the Military-Naval District about the normalization of traffic between Sinj, Vrljika, and Kijevo. We have learned that an agreement has been reached that the inhabitants of Kijevo be sent food and medical materials with trucks. We have also unofficially learned that the Army is active, trying to remove Martić's policemen from around the village of Civljane.

How all this will end up is difficult to say at present. However, this afternoon in Split and the surrounding area will certainly be dramatic, and it is presently very difficult to say or predict what night will bring.

Serbs Flee to Vojvodina From Vukovar

AU0605155191 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 6 May 91

[Slavko Pusic report]

[Text] As of 1400 more than 500 inhabitants of Serbian nationality from the Vukovar commune had been received on the territory of the small Vojvodina commune of Bac. Most of the refugees have been housed in the villages of Bodjani and Vajska, from where our reporter Slavko Pusic sends this report:

[Pusic] More than 100 people, mainly women and children of Serbian nationality, arrived today by boat and ferry at the left bank of the Danube River near the village of Vajska in the Bac commune. They have come from Borovo Selo and other places in the Vukovar commune. Happiness that they have safely arrived in Vojvodina is immediately replaced with tears, sobs, and worries for the husbands, fathers, and brothers who have remained on Croatian territory to defend family property.

They are greeted in the Aleksa Santic primary school, which has been set up as a reception center, with refreshments and words of welcome and encouragement, and then the refugees from Croatia are distributed among the houses of the citizens of Vajska where they are offered hospitality by not only Serbs but also Hungarians, Croats, and citizens of other nationality.

Several dozen women and children have been sent to the local community of Bodjani and Bac, and about a dozen families consisting mainly of women and children have continued their journey to their relatives in Novi Sad, Belgrade, Sabac, and Krusevac.

Otherwise, about 200 citizens of Serbian nationality from the Vukovar commune have been housed in Vajska, Bodjani, and Bac. [Words indistinct] have found shelter in the commune of Odzaci and 200 in other places along the Danube River on Vojvodina territory.

Apart from housing for the refugees from Croatia in the Bac commune, activities have been started to collect food, medicines, and money for the citizens from Borovo Selo and Vukovar.

Serbs Continue Flight to Benkovac

AU0605151591 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 6 May 91

[Danko Peric report from Knin]

[Text] The windows of several shops owned by Croats or firms from the Republic of Croatia were broken in Knin last night and this morning, and there were also some bombings. After the windows of some of these shops were broken, goods were stolen and extensive damage was caused to the owners.

(?Milek Andic), commander of the Split military naval district, was in Knin this morning. We assume that this was prior to the stormy midday events in Split.

In Krusevo and the surrounding tourist resorts along the Karin Sea [Karinsko More, north of Zadar] nine weekend houses were bombed. Almost all of them are owned by Serbs.

It has been reported that people are still fleeing to Benkovac. That is to say, the exodus of the Serbian people from Zadar and the Krajina villages of the Benkovac commune to Benkovac and other towns in the direction of Knin has entered its fourth day. In Benkovac and the eastern parts of (?this) commune, plans have been made for the 1,756 refugees who have been received.

The center for receiving refugees is working well. Yesterday alone, 142 new refugees were received. The refugees include mainly children, pregnant women, and old men and women. Young people (?have stayed) by their hearths. Out of 472 children, 31 are younger than a year.

The citizens of Benkovac are bringing food and drink from their homes. Red Cross flags are flying in front of the Astoria hotel and from it. One former inhabitant of Vrlika sent us the following alarming news. There are no longer any Serbs left in Vrlika: They have all fled. A large number of refugees have been housed around the villages of Vukovica in the Knin commune.

SDA Hints at Formation of Sandzak Council

AU0605161991 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 6 May 91

[Isak Slezovic report]

[Text] The bloody events in Croatia were the occasion for the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] in Novi Pazar to issue a statement. Here is a report from Radio Novi Pazar reporter Isak Slezovic:

[Slezovic] The SDA expresses regret at the loss of life in the clash between the members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia and, as they are called in today's statement, the illegally-armed Serbian extremists, whose action has been directed at bringing down the democratically-elected authorities in Croatia with the aim of destroying Yugoslavia and creating a greater Serbia.

The SDA also expresses concern at the armament of Serbs in Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Sandzak, and Kosovo and the fear of the Muslim people that this is a new beginning for the realization of Chetnik plans to annihilate the non-Serbian population in this region.

The statement by the Party of Democratic Action says that if parts of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina continue activities to join Serbia, a national council will be set up in the Sandzak and autonomy will be proclaimed to protect the interests of the Muslim people.

The party also issued a decree today in which it reminds the Muslims of historical examples of occasions when the Muslim people were victims of Chetnik ideology, as well as the current mistreatment of Muslims by militia in the Sandzak. It also calls on the Muslim people to be united, so they do not again fall victim to Chetnik slaughter.

Serbian Radical Party Refused Registration

LD0605161891 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1300 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, May 6 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Federal Secretariat for Justice and Organization of Federal Administration has turned down the request of the Serbian Radical Party for registration in the Registrar of Political Organizations on the territory of Yugoslavia.

The political goals of the Serbian Radical Party are in collision with the regulations of the federal law on association, because they are aimed at violently toppling the constitutionally established order, undermining the country's territorial unity and fanning nationalist, racial and religious hatred and intolerance, as set out in the explanation issued by the Yugoslav Secretariat for Information.

The Serbian Radical Party has declared itself the follower of the People's Radical Party and clearly set out in its founding acts that they are an expression of continuity with the Serbian Chetniks Movement, as set out in the statement.

Draza Mihailovic's Chetniks compromised themselves during World War Two by collaborating with the occupation forces in fighting the partisan units.

Even though the name of the organization has been changed, the Federal Secretariat for Justice and Organization of Federal Administration is of the view that this is an attempt to renew the Serbian Chetnik movement and promote their propaganda programme under a new name.

The leaders of the three parties in the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina—the Party of Democratic Changes (former Communists), the Moslem Bosnjak Organization and the Alliance of Socialist Youth - the Democratic Alliance, today sent a protest to Sarajevo Television because of the announced participation of the leader of the Serbian Radical Party Dr Vojislav Seselj in this evening's television programme in Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia and Hercegovina.

The branch of the Party of Yugoslavs in Split (Republic of Croatia), sent an open letter today to the Yugoslav Presidency, the Yugoslav Government and the government of the Republic of Croatia demanding that "competent institutions issue a warrant for the arrest of the Chetnik Vojvodas and commanders of the volunteer Chetnik units led by Vojislav Seselj".

Manolic Demands Removal of Barricades

LD0605151791 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1417 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] Zagreb, May 6 (TANJUG)—Premier of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Josip Manolic on Monday demanded an urgent lifting of barricades and disbanding of civilian guards near the town of Vukovar, in northeast Slavonia.

Premier Manolic instructed the town authorities to "refer to the citizens and urge them to deal with problems reasonably and calmly."

Vukovar is not far from Borovo Selo, where 12 Croatian policemen and three villagers of Serbian nationality died in an armed clash last Thursday. All access roads to the town are blocked for the fourth day today.

Representatives of local branches of political parties yesterday appealed to the federal and republican authorities to "urgently send their representatives" because "nobody is any longer in a position to control the situation."

Manolic asked the town authorities to order "all work organizations and state institutions to ensure regular work and carry out their duties under the law and work obligations."

The police must "ensure law and order," he said in a message. The use of special Croatian Interior Ministry units should be demanded, dependent on the estimate of the security situation, the message added.

Manolic also appealed to judicial organs to "bring the court procedure against those who committed criminal acts to an urgent conclusion."

Presidency Views Officials' Policy Interpretation

LD0605162891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1514 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, 6 May (TANJUG)—In connection with the more frequent arbitrary interpretations of the stances and assessments of the SFRY Presidency by some participants in its sessions, the information department of the SFRY Presidency is authorized to announce that only those stances and assessments made in the public statements of the SFRY Presidency have an official character. The department again informs the public that official interpretations of the stances and assessments of the SFRY Presidency in public can only be made by the SFRY Presidency President and the competent information department of the SFRY Presidency.

Some participants in sessions of the SFRY Presidency are misusing their public speeches and in essence are giving a false and tendentious interpretation of the stances and assessments of the SFRY Presidency. Hence it is essential always to check these assessments and

stances and compare them with the positions set out in official statements from sessions of the SFRY Presidency.

The latest case of such an interpretation of the stances and assessments of the SFRY Presidency are the speeches made in Zagreb by SFRY Presidency Vice President Stipe Mesic and Croatian Prime Minister Josip Manolic following the 4 May session of the SFRY Presidency. Unfortunately, some information media are even giving such statements priority over the official stances of the SFRY Presidency, says the statement sent to TANJUG by the information department of the SFRY Presidency.

Bosnian Official Denies 'Armed Chetnik' Movement

*LD0605171291 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1532 GMT 6 May 91*

[Text] Mostar, May 6 (TANJUG)—Head of the security services centre in the town of Mostar, Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slobodan Bozic today denied rumours about the alleged movements of "armed Chetnik groups" from eastern Herzegovina towards Stolac and Capljina, and other predominantly Croatian- and Muslim-populated towns in the republic.

Bozic called the rumours pure misinformation, adding that they incited Muslims and Croats in the towns of Bileca, Gacko and Nevesinje and some villages near Mostar to keep night watches and take other measures of precaution.

Similar misinformation has caused great concern and fear in Herzegovina, especially in the wake of the country's political and security crisis and following tragic events in the Croatian village of Borovo Selo on May 2.

An armed conflict between Croatian police and villagers resulted in the death of 12 members of the Croatian special police units and three Serbian civilians. The number of wounded has not yet been disclosed.

Croatian Boat Has False Police Markings

*LD0605181691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1523 GMT 6 May 91*

[Text] Belgrade, 6 May (TANJUG)—On 4 May Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) patrol boats stopped a boat on the Danube with "police" written on it, but this was a mock-up of the private boat "Jutos." Weapons on this boat, which is at the mouth of the Drava, were confiscated. The following statement was issued today:

According to reports at the disposal of the Federal Executive Council (FEC) Secretariat for Information, on 4 May at about 1900 JNA patrol boats stopped a boat with a 10-member crew on the Danube near Dalj. The boat, which had "police" written on it, according to the crew, belonged to the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs (MUP). However, only two members of the crew

were able to produce official Croatian MUP identity cards while the others, also uniformed persons, were without official documents. The crew was also unable to produce the documents required by the navigation regulations on the Danube as an international river, nor was the boat registered for the job it was doing. During a joint inspection on the spot, carried out yesterday by representatives of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs (SSUP) and the Croatia MUP it was established that the boat originally belonged to a water management organization in Osijek, but since last year it has been owned privately. Before its previous name was painted over and the word "police" written on it, the boat sailed under the name of "Jutos." The boat's weapons and crew were not in compliance with regulations.

Pending the completion of the investigation, which is under way, according to SSUP information, the boat is at the mouth of the Drava River, and the weapons, except for personal weapons, have been temporarily confiscated. All other reports that have appeared in sections of the press, including those relating to the boat's foreign origin, are arbitrary, the FEC Secretariat for Information announced.

Croatia Regrets Attacks on Journalists

*LD0605174191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1540 GMT 6 May 91*

[Text] Zagreb, 6 May (TANJUG)—The Croatian Ministry of Information issued a statement today expressing "regret over an attack on Marko Josilo, a correspondent for German radio and TV (WDR), and over actions to prevent Dusan Vranic and Marko Kujundzic, respectively photographers for AP and Reuter, from carrying out their professional tasks".

According to the statement, the incident "occurred in a rather confused situation near the spot where the Croatian policemen were massacred. The Croatian ministry has given assurances that the equipment seized during the incident has been returned to the journalists."

"The Croatian ministry is resolutely opposed to any form of preventing the free flow of information and of hampering the work of both foreign and domestic journalists," the statement, signed by Croatian Minister of Information Hrvoje Hitrec, concludes.

Split Demonstrators Disperse Following Appeal

*LD0605171991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1617 GMT 6 May 91*

[Text] Split, 6 May (TANJUG)—At about 1500 the situation in Split started to ease. Most of the demonstrators went home following [Croatian President] Tudjman's announcement transmitted several times over the radio and the megaphone calling on them to disperse. However, let us recall that during a meeting in Trogir yesterday with Dalmatia Croatian Democratic Community municipal leaders, Tudjman suggested when

answering questions that in the process of resolving the problems of Kijevo and of so-called outlaws, demonstrations should be held outside the Navy command "to show the world that this is not just the leadership's struggle, but that of the entire Croatian people." Tudjman also claimed yesterday that the Army would not attack the people. And he was right.

Demonstrations did indeed take place, and it was really fortunate that the consequences were not more serious. However, several thousand of the most persistent ones are still standing outside the navy command, surrounding it from all sides, and waiting for news from Kijevo about the arrival of trucks with food and medicine.

The goodwill meeting called by Serbs from Split and neighboring places for 1800 today has been canceled. The Serbs from this area were asked to take a public stand and were expected at this meeting to condemn the behavior of their fellow countrymen in Croatia and give support to the leadership.

Defense Secretariat Heightens Combat Readiness

LD0605174491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1643 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, 6 May (TANJUG)—The Federal Secretariat for National Defense [SSNO] has several times so far informed the Yugoslav public and official state bodies about the relentless propaganda campaign being waged against the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], and about increasingly frequent attacks on the JNA members, members of their families, military facilities, and equipment in certain parts of the country.

Now, when the JNA is making strenuous efforts to avert the spread of increasingly dangerous interethnic armed conflicts in the Republic of Croatia, the anti-Army campaign and attacks on the Army are reaching a climax on the territory of Croatia. Certain leading officials are also directly participating in the attacks, obviously intent on setting the people against the Army, thus thwarting the execution of its task to secure conditions for a peaceful and democratic denouement of the Yugoslav crisis.

According to some public media, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, in his talks in Trogir on 5 May, asked why demonstrations had not been held in front of the Naval District Command, so the world could see that this is not only a battle fought by the Croatian leadership but also by all people in the Republic of Croatia.

Prompted by this invitation, and in an extremely tense political situation, tens of thousands of citizens today surrounded the Naval District Command in Split. Participants in these militant destructive demonstrations attacked military policemen who were securing the Command building. Shots were fired from among the crowd of demonstrators and from a group of Croatian constables at JNA members in the command, who in no way

provoked the crowd. As a consequence one soldier was killed and one wounded. A member of the military police, soldier Sasko Gesovski from Kavadarci in Macedonia, who began his national service on 17 September 1990, was shot dead. Soldier Toni Stojcev from Makedonska Kamenica was wounded, but he is out of danger.

The SSNO has assessed the current situation and ordered that the combat readiness of the JNA units be heightened, that preparations be undertaken to mobilize parts of units, and that the Army behave according to combat deployment regulations in the event of attacks on JNA members, units, and facilities.

Those responsible for the death and wounding of soldiers must be handed over to the appropriate Army authorities for prosecution. On behalf of the Supreme Command, Staff Colonel General Blagoje Adzic, chief of the general staff of the SFRY Armed Forces, has telephoned Croatian President Franjo Tudjman to tell him that the combat readiness of the JNA has been stepped up. He also insisted that all activities against the JNA be stopped and that citizens leave military facilities.

SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic has been informed about the events in Split. An emergency session of the SFRY Presidency and its resolute action were requested. Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic has also been informed about events.

The SSNO points out that those who organize interethnic conflicts and set the people against the JNA must expect the Army to oppose and settle accounts with them, the SSNO statement concludes.

Media Unsure on Reporting Soldier's Death

AU0605191091 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 6 May 91

[Vesna Knezevic report from Zagreb]

[Text] [Knezevic] There are still unreliable reports on how the Croatian media will treat the news of the death of the soldier in Split. The editorial boards of some dailies have been checking eyewitness accounts that they have been receiving by telephone. These include, for example, one whose source was the Christian Democratic Party in Split, that the soldier was killed by an officer. However, [word indistinct] nothing has so far been claimed.

The picture that was sent around all the national television centers on the clash between one demonstrator and a soldier on a military car was not shown on Croatian Television, even though it was shown with the National Croatian Television symbol on the Yugoslav network. The latest information from Split says that the demonstrators are dispersing and that both sides are respecting the agreement that the Army will protect a convoy with food and medicine going to Kijevo and that the police will clear up the area around the Military-Naval District command building.

At today's news conference in the police ministry in Zagreb, the events in Split were mentioned in only one sentence: Until the Army leadership takes a stand on what Degoricija called the Chetnik barbarism in Croatia, there will be constant tension between the Army and the Croatian people, as was the case today in Split.

Because the Croatian authorities divide the Army between those with whom they have courteous relations and those with whom they are in conflict, representatives of the police ministry of Croatia today praised the cooperation that they have with the command of the Fifth Army District and General Konrad Kolsek, while they defined the Split Military-Naval District and its commander Milek Andic—linking him with the commander of the [words indistinct]—as the focus of Croatian trouble with the Army.

The demonstrations in Split were organized by the Croatian Union of Trade Unions. This is the trade union center that was set up in the fall by the republican government in order to oppose the radical independent trade unions and the Federation of Independent Trade Unions, the former red trade unions.

Situation in Knin Area Updated

*AU0605202291 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 6 May 91*

[Text] What is the situation like in Knin? Danko Peric has a report:

[Peric] In the largest Knin work collective in the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina, the [word indistinct] Knin factory, which employees almost 3,000 workers, the workers of the second shift, which started at 1500, did not even enter the factory building.

This happened a couple of minutes after the first pictures were shown on the Croatian television's newscast that illustrated the reality of the attitude of 100,000 hooligans to the representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] in front of the Military-Naval District command in Split. This was filmed by Croatian television, as well as the appalling act of the killing of the soldier.

Sporadic complaints were made even earlier in Krajina by individuals who [words indistinct] the JNA. Now the frequent question is what else can happen.

It is true that it is impossible to reach Kijevo, and the same fate is shared by people in the villages of Cetina, Cviljane, and (Gornje Selo) and (Donje Selo) near to Kijevo, as well as in Lisane Tinjske in the Benkovac commune. Media propaganda has been created concerning Kijevo, but the residents of the Serbian villages near Knin and Benkovac feel completely abandoned. People from Cviljane and Cetina told us that it means something to them if they are mentioned in the media.

The refugees from Lisane Tinjske request only one thing on behalf of those who have remained in this place: that they be protected on all sides, as is being done in Kijevo by JNA armored vehicles.

The sky over Knin is [word indistinct] this evening and around 1730 the heavens opened. Precisely at this time, new disinformation from Split was broadcast on the radio about an alleged attack by armed civilians from Cviljane on a truck that was delivering hygiene products and medicines [word indistinct].

The [words indistinct] hotel in Obrovac has been prepared to accept refugees from Split, Zadar, and Sibenik.

Presidency 'Strongly Condemns' Attacks on Army

*LD0605205891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2013 GMT 6 May 91*

[Text] Belgrade, 6 May (TANJUG)—An emergency session of the SFRY Presidency was reported to have been held this evening, chaired by President Borisav Jovic. The Federal Executive Council president, the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, and the SFRY Armed Forces chief of staff took part in the session. The SFRY Presidency examined the current security situation in the Republic of Croatia and today's mass, destructive and anti-Army demonstrations in Split, which provoked the Yugoslav public's justified revolt and condemnation.

The presidency very strongly condemns the attack on the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] and the violent behavior of demonstrators. In particular, the SFRY presidency expressed bitterness and condemnation at the murder and wounding of JNA soldiers in Split and warned of the danger of an unjustified escalation of conflicts with the JNA. The presidency also noted that these attacks were part of an attempt to discredit the JNA.

Although it has the necessary powers, the JNA did not on this occasion resort to the devices it is entitled to use in self-defense because it judged that the main culprits behind this conduct are those who call for such actions.

The SFRY presidency reminded competent federal and republican bodies and JNA officials to respond to the events in Split and the killing and wounding of JNA soldiers with an urgent and thorough investigation and to take all legal measures against the offenders.

In the course of the session on behalf of the Yugoslav Armed Forces Supreme Command, SFRY Presidency Army Gen. Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, addressed SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic on the deterioration of the situation in the country and informed the SFRY Presidency about concrete proposals and warnings, which the SFRY Presidency decided should be discussed in the presence of the republican presidents and the Federal Executive Council president. The SFRY Presidency decided to resume its session tomorrow.

General Sees Country in 'Civil War'

LD0605210791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2026 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, 6 May (TANJUG)—Army General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, was reported to have conveyed the following message this evening to SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic:

First, since neither the SFRY Presidency nor the other federal authorities have acknowledged the assessments and proposals of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and the Supreme Command in connection with the situation in the country, Yugoslav society has already embarked upon a civil war.

Second, the way in which the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] so far has been used in preventing interethnic conflicts can no longer be efficient.

Third, every attack on the members, units, and facilities of the JNA—such as have already started, with the first casualties on the army side—will be responded to according to combat rules, which includes the use of firearms.

The Supreme Command Headquarters will not allow the JNA to be a scapegoat for the extremist behavior of the warring sides.

Fourth, proceeding from the constitutional responsibility of the Armed Forces for the country's security, the Supreme Command Headquarters urges all federal and republican authorities, which have influence on the situation in society, to secure peace and normal conditions for resolving the Yugoslav crisis.

Fifth, the Supreme Command Headquarters has ordered the heightening of JNA combat-readiness and the mobilization of the relevant units in order that the JNA—should the federal and republican entities fail to secure peace—can do so efficiently and in keeping with its constitutional role and responsibilities.

A request was also made that all federal authorities be informed about the above stands.

Markovic Holds Zagreb Talks With Tudjman

LD0605203391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2003 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] Zagreb, 6 May (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic had a meeting in Zagreb this evening with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman. The talks, which started at 2200 in Banski Dvori [Tudjman's official residence], are also being attended by Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs Petar Gracanin; Stane Brovet, deputy federal secretary for national defense; and other officials of the Federal Executive Council.

Macedonian Troop Withdrawal Requested

LD0605220691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 6 May 91

[Summary] Skopje, 6 May (TANJUG)—At the initiative of the Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity, citizens of Skopje are signing a petition this evening in several places outside the Macedonian Assembly for the withdrawal of soldiers from Macedonia and for the withdrawal of all Macedonian Army officers from trouble areas. At a large meeting in protest of the brutal murder of a Macedonian soldier, Macedonians are also asking that their fellow nationals should not take part in the Croatian-Serbian bloodshed.

Communists Warn of 'Struggle Against Chaos'

LD0605213191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2104 GMT 6 May 91

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 6 May (TANJUG)—The executive committee of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia warns in a statement issued this evening that civil war is raging throughout Yugoslavia, that the Croatian Democratic Community leaders have openly invited the people of Croatia to take action against the Yugoslav People's Army, and that chauvinistic and fascist forces have declared war on Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

If the SFRY Presidency, the Federal Executive Council, or the Yugoslav People's Army do not take specific measures, the League of Communist-Movement for Yugoslavia will be forced, as in 1941, to mobilize its 300,000 members for a struggle against chaos and fascism in Yugoslavia, the statement concludes.

Over 10,000 Macedonians Protest Soldier's Death

LD0605213891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2109 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] Kavadarci, 6 May (TANJUG)—More than 10,000 citizens of Kavadarci, birthplace of soldier Sasa Gesovski, who was brutally killed in Split today, gathered in the central square of the town to protest this crime. The crowd has condemned with indignation the crime that took place in Split and called on the Macedonian and Yugoslav authorities to secure the lives of soldiers and officers. Demands have been made that Macedonian soldiers should return to do their military service in Macedonia, because it has become evident that their lives are not safe.

Gligerov Wants Justice After Soldier's Death

LD0705001891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2236 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] Skopje, 6 May (TANJUG)—“The Macedonian government and I will take all measures in order that those guilty of the death of soldier Sasa Gesovski be found and that he, or they, be brought before the court. We will demand this from both the federal government

and the Yugoslav People's Army Supreme Command," stated Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov in Skopje this evening.

In his statement for TANJUG, Gligorov stressed in particular that Macedonia must protect the lives of young soldiers scattered all over Yugoslavia and ensure that they return to their homes as soon as possible.

"In light of the latest events, everyone should reexamine his conscience because tactical games, calculations, and pressure will be of no use to anyone," was Gligorov's message. "If we were to draw the moral from all that has happened, it would be that presidents should stop trying to prove to each other which of them is a greater president or sovereign and which one of them has been entrusted with a historic mission to achieve what was impossible to achieve for thousands of years. If an end is put to this and if everyone comes to understand the situation, we could start thinking about how to protect all our nations, which in no way deserved any of this to happen to them," said Gligorov.

The Macedonian president appealed to citizens of this republic to behave in a dignified and peaceful way and avoid any invitations to vandalism. Any encouragement of destructive actions must be condemned and it is also necessary to avoid mad acts and intranational conflicts, because this would have unforeseeable consequences.

Gligorov called for talks "either about the future of Yugoslavia, or about a peaceful separation" and pleaded against the incidents with bloody consequences, which he described as unworthy of the times in which we are living.

Protesters Dispersing; Meetings Held in Macedonia

LD0705002991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2350 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] Skopje, 6 May (TANJUG)—At 0100 over 15,000 protesters in Skopje started to disperse. Representatives of the "mothers' committee" remained with Macedonian leaders to formulate the demands of this meeting, including the most important one—the return of Macedonian soldiers to their republic. Thousands of candles lit outside the Macedonian Assembly this evening will be a reminder of the tragic incident in Split. [Killing of soldier Sasa Gesovski and the feelings of revolt of the people from Skopje and other Macedonian cities]

Apart from Skopje, spontaneous protest meetings were held in several other Macedonian cities this evening. Macedonian Assembly President Stojan Andov addressed several thousand citizens of Kavadarci, the birthplace of Sasa Gesovski, and stressed that Macedonia would not sacrifice its offspring to the civil war.

Young Albanians and Macedonians gathered in Debar, mourning the death of the young man. Citizens of Stip, Djevdjelija, Bitolj, Prilep, Sveti Nikole, Titov Veles, and

a large number of villages also spontaneously condemned the murder in Split.

Leaderships and political parties of Macedonia—condemning the brutal murder of soldier Gesovski—appealed to the citizens of this republic to display dignity and sobriety, despite everything that had happened.

Croatian Leaders Meet FEC Representatives

LD0705025291 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0100 GMT 7 May 91

[Text] Following talks the Croatian leadership held with representatives of the Federal Executive Council (FEC), chaired by Franjo Tudjman and Ante Markovic, in the Banski Dvori residence in Zagreb—the meeting was also attended by SFRY Presidency Vice President Stipe Mesic, who returned from Belgrade; Croatian Prime Minister Josip Manolic; Minister for Internal Affairs Josip Boljkovac; Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs Petar Gracanin; and Deputy Federal Secretary for National Defense Stane Brovet—the following statements were given by FEC President Ante Markovic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman:

[Begin recording] [Markovic] The initiative for these talks was set in motion by the FEC, since we had assessed that the developments in the country were unfolding along lines that might lead to the point of no return. Being committed to reforms in our society and its democratization from the beginning of our work, and regarding the present situation as being extremely critical and highly conducive to civil war in our country, we have maintained—let me not dwell on any detailed analysis of the causes behind this situation, which is all too familiar to us—that we should establish in the best possible way a joint assessment of what is happening in the country and particularly in Croatia now. On the basis of these findings and assessments we can be able to agree on the activities we need to embark upon to succeed—by developing democratic methods rather than by force—in creating circumstances in which a peaceful and democratic solution to the crisis will be possible.

This is why we have talked about a scope of things ranging from our borders, both our internal and external borders; various extremists; the use of propaganda methods and propaganda warfare and the market war; to specific cases such as those which started off with Knin and eventually led to Split yesterday—yes, yesterday, since it is 0200 now. So we talked about what should be done immediately to ensure that the present tension abates and to ensure that the train of events in Yugoslavia unfolds in a peaceful way, something that will lead toward reforms and changes, to all these things that should introduce it to Europe where it can and must find its place.

[Tudjman] We, the delegation of the Croatian Supreme State Council, have agreed with the FEC delegation. We agreed on its 11 or so political points on which we should work together so we can achieve a democratic and

peaceful solution. As for Croatia, the main problem is how to establish legal order in the Knin area where it has been disrupted; how to prevent infiltration of Chetnik formations into Croatia, which are stirring up all the things afflicting Croatia. We are, of course, resolutely opposed to any act of Croatian extremism, and we will be tackling this in a legal way on Croatia's soil. But it is essentially important for Croatia to restore its legal order in the Knin area because it is obstructing traffic; it renders regular traffic between Dalmatia and continental Croatia impossible. The Croatian economy has already lost an estimated \$3 billion since 17 August last year when it all began. Hence, Croatia finds this unbearable; it threatens not only this tourist season but all activities, as it creates an unbearable moral situation. Consequently, viewed in this light, this issue is of urgent importance to us.

Equally, in addition to this, one should raise the question of the Yugoslav People's Army, regardless of the fact that it has formally declared itself in favor of recognizing the legal political system and order in Croatia; and regardless of the fact that in some places it has prevented the divisions from deepening. From Croatia's point of view, however, one cannot tolerate this situation whereby it applies the same standards to the Croatian authorities and the outlaws who are attacking the constitutional and legal order. To this effect, we will demand that concrete measures be taken to solve these problems. [end recording]

Vukovar, Borovo 'Somewhat More Peaceful'

LD0705083191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0724 GMT 7 May 91

[Text] Vukovar, 7 May (TANJUG)—Following several sleepless nights in Vukovar and Borovo where frequent bursts of gunfire and nighttime explosions have been heard, it can be said last night was somewhat more peaceful. There was less gunfire, although one powerful explosive device was thrown into the Bistro Rio cafe owned by Mladen Konstatinovic, of Serbian nationality. No one was injured.

The Yugoslav rubber and shoe combine, Borovo, is not working today and schools in Vukovar and Borovo are still not working either.

Barricades have in the main been removed from roads, we were told in the Vukovar police station. Thus, for example, the bus from Tovarnik [in the municipality of Vukovar] arrived without difficulties in Vukovar, but communications between local villages have not yet been established.

Convoy Bound for Kijevo Still Detained

LD0705090391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 7 May 91

[Text] [words indistinct] the convoy of food and medicines intended for (?the suffering) inhabitants of Kijevo,

which has been cut off from the world for nine days now, is still standing at the first barricade in the direction of [words indistinct]. In fact, Milan Martić's [secretary of the Krajina Secretariat of Internal Affairs] police and armed civilians have remained unyielding to the demand of military representatives that the convoy be allowed through.

Army Takes Control of Three Danube Bridges

LD0705085891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0811 GMT 7 May 91

[Text] Borovo Selo, 7 May (TANJUG)—This morning units of the Yugoslav People's Army began checking the traffic on three bridges across the Danube.

In the early hours of the morning they took control of the bridge near Bogojevo [Vojvodina], and during the night the bridges near Batina [Croatia] and Backa Palanka [Vojvodina].

Up until last night these bridges were controlled by members of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs. There were no incidents during the takeover of control of the bridges.

All three bridges represent the most important road links between Vojvodina on the one side and Slavonija and Baranja [eastern Croatia] on the other side of the Danube.

Soviet Official Denies Tudjman Claims

LD0705101491 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0856 GMT 7 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, May 7 (TANJUG)—The press attache of the Soviet Embassy in Yugoslavia has told the Belgrade daily BORBA that "the embassy does not have data which confirm or facts which would support the claims set out in the speech of Croatian President Dr Franjo Tudjman" at the rally of Dalmatian leaders on May [word indistinct] in Trogir near Split.

On the occasion, according to BORBA, Tudjman accused some (unidentified) members of the Yugoslav People's Army of maintaining links with Soviet generals and of having sought help from the Soviet Union. Tudjman at the time also said that the Soviet Union was not giving aid directly "although it wished to remain a super power with influence in Yugoslavia."

The Soviet press attache elaborated in his statement to BORBA that cooperation between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union at the military level was part of all-round relations between the two countries and that contacts between the army leaders were maintained within this equal cooperation and without the interference in each others internal affairs.

'Missiles' Fired at Vukovar Village

LD0705093391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0858 GMT 7 May 91

[Text] Vukovar, 7 May (TANJUG)—Just as it seemed that the situation in the municipality of Vukovar was gradually calming down, sometime before 1000 the president of the local community of the village of Brsadin [in Vukovar municipality] reported on the telephone that two missiles from grenade launchers [tromblonske mine] were fired at this village.

It is presumed that the missiles were fired from the direction of the neighboring village of Bogdanovci [in Vukovar municipality].

According to what we have learned, an investigation is being prepared by a commission that should be made up of a representative of the Vukovar municipal assembly, a representative of Vukovar police station, and probably also a representative of the Yugoslav People's Army garrison headquarters in Vukovar.

Armored Units Moving Toward Western Hercegovina

AU0705094091 Zagreb Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 7 May 91

[Text] This morning at about 0900 endless columns of tanks and military vehicles were moving through the (?streets) of Mostar. They are still coming and [word indistinct] direction. What is involved is an armored unit of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] that has been stationed in the southern part of Mostar since the beginning of this year and which, judging by everything, contains two tank battalions and one infantry battalion.

The units have been moving following (?last night's) order by the JNA Command Headquarters on raising the alertness level. One should point out here that the armored vehicles are heading from Mostar toward the western Hercegovina communes of Listica, (?Grude), and (?Posusje) with an almost 100-percent Croatian population. This direction is also strategically [words indistinct].

Zagreb Daily: Soldier's Death Warning to Army

LD0705105491 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0937 GMT 7 May 91

[Text] Zagreb, May 7 (TANJUG)—The Zagreb daily VJESNIK today commented that the killing of a soldier in Split, Republic of Croatia, on Monday "was a warning to the Yugoslav People's Army as well, since its leadership should realize where the present inflexibility ultimately leads."

The daily, issued in Croatia's capital, accuses the Serbian republic of "implementing Greater-Serbian policy and of calling on Serbs in Croatia to resist the legitimate republican authorities. [no closing quotation marks as received]

Noting that "so far the Serbian strategy is based on using individual and group terrorism", the daily writes that "this could ultimately lead to the instrumentalization of armed forces, which have in one way or another already become involved, through perfidious manipulations so far."

"It is clear that in such a situation patience in Croatia has been pushed to the extreme limit", the daily concludes, warning that it would be "dangerous to reply to the Serbian policy with the logic of national-anarchism or so-called spontaneous resistance, as exactly this would serve as an alibi for an open physical clash."

Romania Denies Involvement in Croatian Events

LD0705103391 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0942 GMT 7 May 91

[Text] Bucharest, May 7 (TANJUG)—Romanian Foreign Ministry spokesman Ambassador Trajan Kebeleu today described as unfounded Croatian Deputy Interior Minister Slavko Degoricija's claims, made yesterday, about the involvement of the former Romanian security service Securitatea in events in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

Degoricija told a news conference in Zagreb on Monday that the "terrorists", who might belong to the Securitatea by the intercepted coded messages, had fired shots at members of the Croatian Interior Ministry in Borovo Selo, near the town of Vukovar on the Danube.

"Such claims cannot be true because this is contrary to the policy of good-neighbourly relations which Romania consistently implements", Kebeleu said.

In the clash in Borovo Selo on May 2, 12 Croatian policemen and three villagers were killed, 21 policemen were wounded, while the number of the wounded villagers is not known.

The Romanian government is willing to be in constant contact with the Croatian government so as to clear up this question and any other concerning Romanian citizens, the Romanian Foreign Ministry spokesman's statement said.

Daily Says Tudjman Declared War on Army

LD0705110191 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1020 GMT 7 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, May 7 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily POLITIKA writes today that "the Republic of Croatia leadership has declared war on the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) [JNA]," and recalls Croatian President Dr Franjo Tudjman's call made in Trogir (Republic of Croatia) on Sunday for demonstrations to be held outside the regional army-navy command in Split.

POLITIKA writes that the call resulted in demonstrations in Split (Republic of Croatia) and the killing of a

soldier on Monday. POLITIKA underscores that "the Croatian president had pulled the trigger in the war against the YPA."

"So far, the army has not fired one single shot at the Croatian people," concludes the daily and stresses that "the army should no longer tolerate any attacks, especially not those on its members or their families."

POLITIKA considers that "this is a longterm war strategy aimed against the YPA," and forecasts that the "army will probably answer back."

The army intervened in areas in Croatia predominantly populated with Serbs acting as a buffer between the conflicting Serbian population and Croatian police.

Attack on Soldier Not Shown on Croatian TV

LD0705115691 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1044 GMT 7 May 91

[Text] Zagreb, May 7 (TANJUG)—The Croatian television was the only one not to broadcast the scene in which

demonstrators ruthlessly attacked and mistreated one soldier on an armoured vehicle and killed another soldier in Split on Monday. All other Yugoslav television stations broadcast the scene of the demonstrations in the central Adriatic town of Split yesterday, when several thousands of demonstrators encircled the Army-Navy command and went on the rampage for two hours. The television stations said they obtained the footage precisely from the Croatian television through inter-republican exchange.

One soldier was killed and an other wounded in the demonstrations.

The Zagreb daily VECERNJI LIST today said soldier Sasa Gesovski, 19, was killed in "peaceful demonstrations." Citing a "report" of the Croatian Democratic Party, VECERNJI LIST accused an unidentified officer of killing the soldier, a native of the Republic of Macedonia.

The Yugoslav Defence Ministry, however, categorically said yesterday that the Army had not fired a single bullet.